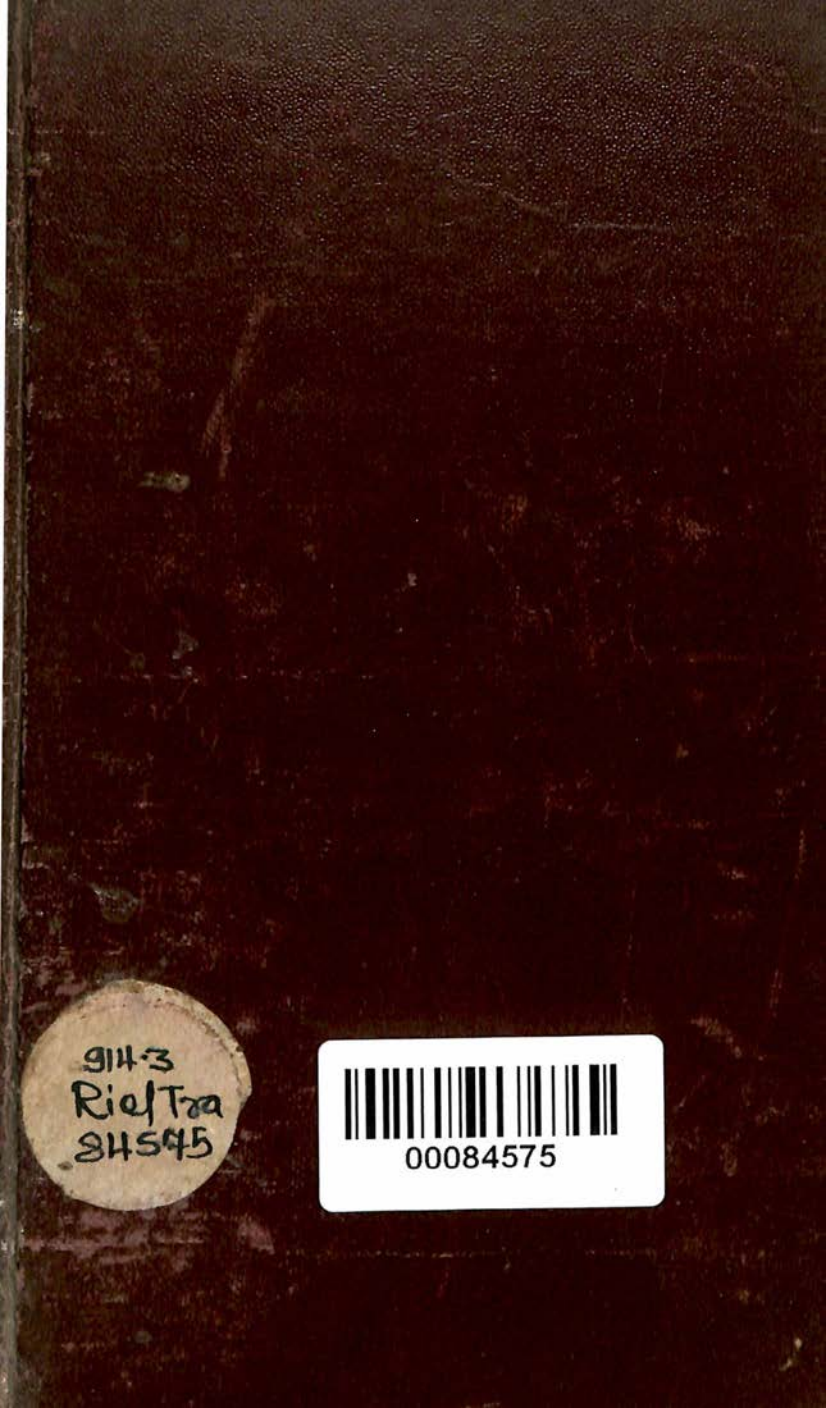
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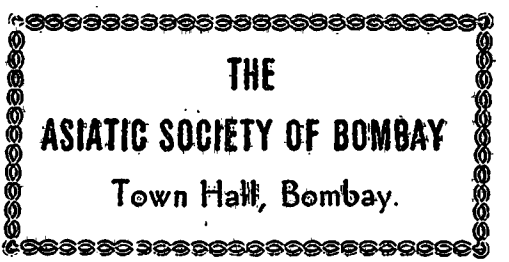

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY,

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS;

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WRITTEN IN GERMAN

BY THE BARON *RIESBECK*,

1787

AND TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. MR. MATY,

LATE SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY, AND UNDER LIBRARIAN TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

MDCCLXXXVII.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Letters were written in the German Language by the Baron Caſpar Rieſbeck, a native of the Dutchy of Wurtenberg.

As the Author has aſſumed the character of a Frenchman, it has been preſumed, that he was of that nation: But, beſides that the work was never publiſhed in France, the freedom and ſeverity

ſeverity with which he every where treats the natives of that country, convey ſufficient proof that he did not belong to it himſelf. He died February 5, 1786, of a fever, at Aran in Switzerland, aged thirty years.

The many inaccuracies which may be found ſcattered up and down in the tranſlation, will meet with ſome apology in the boſom of the candid, when they are pleaſed to conſider the painful and tedious illneſs, under which the Tranſlator laboured, and which at laſt put a period to his life. And if the Reader, in the peruſal of the Work, ſhould meet with paſſages which have the appearance of indelicacy, he may be aſſured that many more are omitted, which may be found in the original, and even thoſe which remain, hardly ſufficient to give offence to the moſt ſcrupulous, were in-

tended to have been expunged by the Tranſlator, whoſe purity of thought could only be ſurpaſſed by the purity of his life. In ſhort, whatever inaccuracies may have eſcaped the attention of the Tranſlator of theſe Letters,

——— *quas aut incuria fudit,*
Aut humana parum cavit natura—

it is preſumed that they will be amply compenſated by the entertainment and information, with which they abound.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY.

LETTER I.

Stutgart, April 3, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER,

HERE I have pitched my firſt camp, and intend to make excurſions from hence into the different parts of Suabia, according as opportunities offer.

I have made it a rule to myſelf to take particular parts of Germany as middle points, and from thence to ramble round the country till I have ſeen all that I think worth notice. It is my

intention to *ſtudy* Germany thoroughly, without, however, extending my inquiries to the numberleſs landgraviates, margraviates, baronies, republics, &c. &c. As to theſe, it is doing them honour enough to ſay that they exiſt.

You know that I ſtayed ſome time in Straſburg, as well for the ſake of learning to ſpeak a little German, as to make myſelf acquainted, by the help of maps and books, with the country I mean to travel through. In this purſuit I found more aſſiſtance than I could have expected, and it is certainly not the fault of the German geographers and politicians that their country is ſo little known by foreigners.

Having ſometimes been ſo kind as to allow me a genius for the obſervation of men and manners, you may reaſonably expect ſomething more in my letters than what you have commonly met with in our French and Engliſh travellers. Theſe, indeed, have uſually been gentlemen, who having travelled in cloſe poſt-chaiſes to the great courts, as if (as Yorick ſays) they were riding poſt from death, have given us the few anecdotes they have picked up, either at the poſt-houſe, whilſt they were changing horſes, or from their bankers, or from their opera-girls, as true accounts of the ſtate of manners, legiſlation, religion, &c. of the country.

A man who would know all orders of people, ſhould mix with them all; but this is what a common traveller ſeldom either can or will do; on the contrary, they are generally compelled to live in a narrow circle, where they hear of nothing but the pleaſures and occupations of the company; therefore, again, a man muſt be a ſtudious traveller by profeſſion, to enter into the peculiarities of a whole people. After all, let him be ever ſo willing, and ever ſo well prepared, he will find it more difficult to know Germany than any other country; for it is not here as in France, where, as all ape the manners of the capital, by going thither you ſee all, as it were, in the compaſs of a nut-ſhell. In Germany there is no town which regulates the manners of the whole, but the country is divided into a numberleſs variety of large and ſmall ſtates, differing from each other in religion, government, opinions, &c. and which have no band of union whatever, except their common language.

You know that I commonly travel on foot when I cannot get into a public land or water carriage; but theſe are inexpreſſibly pleaſant to me on account of the company I meet in them, even ſhould that company happen to conſiſt only of Jews, Capuchins, and old women.

You know too that I am enough a citizen of the world to find ſome good out of my own country, and not to be outrageouſly out of humour when all is not as it is at home.

You may depend on receiving one letter at leaſt every week, in which you will have an account either of a German town or of ſome part of the country. General obſervations I muſt, of courſe, defer to the end, when I ſhall have put together the ſeveral broken parts of the narrative. I ſhall not trouble you with any of the nonſenſe which you muſt have enough of in our daily publications.

LETTER II.

Stutgart, April 10, 1780.

I HOPE that you received my letter of the third, which was intended as a kind of introduction to our future correſpondence. Though I know how odious letter-writing is to you, I muſt nevertheleſs inſiſt on an anſwer to every ſix of mine, and if you cannot bring yourſelf to ſit down to work, deſire Nannette to do it for you. —But to my diary: As I was getting into the poſt-waggon at Straſburg, who ſhould come in,

in

in a poſt-chaiſe and four, but Mr. B—! No doubt, you muſt have ſeen him at Paris at Madame H——'s. 'Whither,' ſays he, 'ſo faſt?' 'A pilgrimage through Germany,' ſays I. 'Out upon the ſtupid country,' ſays he; I have 'juſt travelled over it, but in truth it is not 'worth the trouble.' At firſt I thought that he muſt at leaſt have made ſome ſtay in ſome of the principal German towns; but when I came to inquire, I found that what he called having travelled over the ſtupid country, was a ſmall excurſion from Switzerland, through part of Suabia and Bavaria, as far as Munich, and from thence into France again by Augſburg, Ulm, and Friburg. As there happened to be a map of Germany behind the door of the poſt-houſe, with the point of my ſword I traced the parts of the country he had been over, and ſhewed him, that far from having travelled through Germany, he had ſcarce ſeen any part of it; but this did not affect him at all: 'Go you,' ſays he, 'go 'you; for my part I have ſeen it.'

My company conſiſted of a wine merchant from Ulm, with a melancholy face, who was always ſhaking his lips as if he had taſted ſour wine, and an elderly lady, who ſaid ſhe was hired as a governeſs in a great houſe at Vienna.

As neither of theſe companions had any peculiar charms for me, I amuſed myſelf as we travelled along the banks of the Rhine, with conſidering the idea perſons who live in the great Pariſian world entertain of what they call with us *le Nord*. I had been led into this by the gaſconade of M. B—, and the ſight of the German poſt-map. *Here*, then, thought I to myſelf (as I run over in my mind that track of country which reaches from the ſpot I was then on to the frozen ſea), in ancient times dwelt the Cimbri, the Goths, the Franks, the Saxons, the Suabians, and the Allemanni; and here now are the Swedes, the Pruſſians, and the Ruſſians; and all this great country, together with the formidable poſſeſſors of it, we diſpoſe of in a word that conveys much the ſame ideas to the readers as *les Pais Bas*, the Low Countries. *Les Pais Bas* and the *Nord*, a Frenchman conſiders as only ſo many dependencies on the omnipotent France. There is really nothing to be ſaid to this but what Triſtram Shandy ſays upon a like occaſion: 'The French 'have a pleaſant way of treating all great mat-'ters.' I could not help laughing inwardly as theſe thoughts came into my head, and the ſight of the ruined fortifications of Kehl gave my laughter freſh force, from the recollection that the mighty Louis, whoſe great mind had it in con-

templation

templation to annex the ſmall dependencies of the *Nord* and the *pais bas*, together with Italy, Spain, &c. to the French monarchy, had built this fort as a key to his conqueſts on the other ſide the Rhine. 'By my troth,' ſaid I, as I conſidered the barracks and veſtiges of the old fortifications, 'this is pleaſant.'—And it is pleaſanter ſtill, that Beaumarchais means to print his Voltaire in theſe barracks. 'In the name 'of merriment,' ſaid I, (and my internal laugh then broke out) 'is the great France grown too 'ſmall, ſince the days of the mighty Louis, to 'hold a dozen letter preſſes in it?'

The ſmall contraband trade with Straſburg excepted, France has nothing to fear from this ſame Kehl. The place, which is contemptible in every reſpect, belongs, with ſome other villages, to the margraves of Baden, but the ſtates of the Holy Roman Empire claim a right to the ruined fortifications.

The way to Carlſruhe raiſed many thoughts in my mind. On ſight of the caſtle of Raſtadt, where a termination was put to the war between France and Auſtria in 1714, I felt myſelf a Frenchman all over. All the great chiefs and ſtateſmen, who from the beginning of the laſt century to this period had adorned our annals, and ſet us far above the nations of the earth,

ſeemed to riſe before me, and I ſat for ſome time in a kind of trance, fighting their battles and inventing their civil improvements over again. In an unlucky minute, however, I was awakened by the recollection that this was now all at an end; that in 1714 our greatneſs terminated; that my country no longer produced great men; and that the powers whom we had then ſunk ſo low were now riſing, nay, that ſome of them had already riſen, to ſink us. I would then have wiſhed to have forgotten that I was a Frenchman, and ſought for conſolation in the thought of being a citizen of the world, and that much as we had loſt, Europe in general had gained ſtill more in the time that had elapſed; but this was impoſſible; the traces of deſolation which many of our generals had left in the places I was travelling through, made me lament my having been ſo proud of their exploits before.

I ſtayed ſome time at Carlſruhe, and was lucky enough to get acquainted with a gentleman, who, to the beſt of hearts, an excellent underſtanding, and unremitting exertions in the ſervice of his prince, unites a very fine taſte for German, French, and Engliſh literature. The court of Carlſruhe poſſeſſes many ſuch perſons, ſome of whom I had been fortunate enough to know

know at Straſburg. With this gentleman I went to Spires to viſit ſome of his relations. Our way lay by Bruchſal, the reſidence of the biſhop of Spires. The country we went through had many woods, which, however, were broken by a few well-cultivated vales. Theſe woods, the timber of which is carried to Holland (where it ſells very well) by the Rhine, makes a great part of the revenue of the courts of Spires and Carlſruhe. The wood through which we travelled afforded a ſtriking inſtance of the advantage an hereditary kingdom has over an elective one. The woods of Baden are kept up with the greateſt oeconomy and attention, becauſe the prince knows they will be ſources of wealth to his remoteſt deſcendants; whereas at Bruchſal, where the deſcendants of the prince have nothing to hope, every thing gives way to preſent enjoyment.—It is needleſs to add that in this reſpect the woods are an emblem of the whole country.

Bruchſal is a pretty little town, and the biſhop's palace a handſome building. The preſent prince biſhop, ſome effuſions of ill humour only excepted, is no bad governor. This humour principally ſhews itſelf againſt the young women. I am *aſſured* that if he could he would make all the girls nuns. He cannot ſee one without

without falling into a paſſion. His revenue is about three hundred thouſand florins, or thirty thouſand pounds *per annum*, and I am ſorry to add that he is by no means one of the richeſt biſhops in Germany.

Spires is a ſmall free city, which was formerly handſomer than it is now; towards the end of the laſt century it was entirely deſtroyed by the French army; ſince that time it has long lain in ruins, and is now hardly above half built up again. It was one of the firſt Roman colonies on the banks of the Rhine, and many Roman coins are ſtill found in the country.

Here, brother, I was in the midſt of that theatre from whence, in the laſt century, our troops ſpread deſolation from the Rhine to the Moſelle; where Melac, appearing not as the leader of a mighty hoſt, but the head of a murtherous band, laid ſixty flouriſhing towns in aſhes, and made a deſert of one of the fineſt countries on earth! Where Turenne, the greateſt general of the greateſt monarch in the world, anſwered the generous elector, who, ſtruck with the wrongs his country was enduring, would bravely have riſked his life for his people, and challenged the incendiary to ſingle combat, with a bon-mot, ſaying, 'that ſince he had the honour to

'ſerve

'ſerve the king of France, he fought only at the 'head of twenty thouſand men.' How little in my eyes did then appear the great Turenne, whoſe bon-mot, turned into common-ſenſe, amounted to no more than this: 'Theſe twenty 'thouſand men give me a right to lay your 'country in aſhes!'

My friend carried me to the cathedral, half of which is ſtill in ruins. Here I ſaw the tombs of the old emperors, whoſe ſepulchres our ſoldiers plundered, and whoſe bones they ſtrewed on the ground. 'This happened,' ſaid my friend, 'in your golden age, under Louis the 'Fourteenth, when your greateſt poets, reaſon-'ers, and philoſophers flouriſhed; when you 'was ſuppoſed to have arrived at the higheſt 'pitch of poliſh of which a nation is capable; 'when we Germans were no more in your ſight 'than ſo many Cherokees; and ſome of your 'academicians had the inſolence to propoſe, as a 'queſtion fit for diſcuſſion, "Whether it was "poſſible that a German ſhould have any *eſprit?*" — Brother, I was almoſt aſhamed to be a Frenchman.

Both at Spires and Bruchſal I found, in the few houſes where we made our flying viſits, more eaſe and knowledge of the world than I expected.

expected. I remarked that people are very fond of ſtrangers in this country.

I reckon the few days I ſpent at Carlſruhe amongſt the happieſt of my life. I ſaw a prince who truly lives only for his people, and ſeeks his own happineſs in theirs; one whoſe active and enlightened mind pervades the whole country, and by its influence makes all thoſe who have a ſhare in the adminiſtration patriots like himſelf. Education, police, encouragements to induſtry and agriculture; every thing, in ſhort, here breathes the ſpirit of philoſophy and the warm love of mankind. O that I could make many millions as happy as the margrave of Baden makes two hundred thouſand men!

After the electors, and the houſes of Wirtemburg and Heſſe Caſſel, the margrave of Baden is one of the greateſt potentates in Germany. The princes of Bareith and Darmſtadt are the only ones who can enter into any competition with him; his revenue is one million two hundred thouſand florins, *i. e.* one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds *per annum*. The margrave's country extends along the right ſide of the Rhine from Baſil to near Philipſburg, and from thence through part of Alſatia to the Moſelle. If it all lay together, it would be more productive.

They

They carry on a large trade in cattle, wood, and wine, which laſt is extremely good in the environs of Baſil. The country, likewiſe, produces a kind of marble, which ſome think equal in goodneſs to the Florentine or Carara; but this is exaggeration. The mildneſs of the government ſecures to the people the quiet enjoyment of the rewards of their induſtry. There are not indeed opportunities of making great fortunes, as the court is very œconomical, and lives at a ſmall expence; but the ſame cauſe prevents the preſſure of extreme poverty from being felt by any one. The facility of exporting their labours, which is afforded by the navigation of the Rhine, is a great incitement to induſtry. The manufactures in conſequence increaſe every year, and ſome of them, particularly the earthen-ware one at Durloch, are in high eſtimation. They have likewiſe made ſome ſucceſsful experiments in making ſilk.

The margrave is as amiable in private life as he is reſpectable in public. He and the margravine, who is a princeſs of D'Armſtadt, have every polite accompliſhment, ſo that the court is the beſt ſociety in Carlſruhe. Strangers find little difficulty to gain admiſſion there.

This court has been much reflected upon for its œconomy, and poſſibly may have gone rather

ther beyond the line in ſome points; but whatever the exceſſes may have been, the prince himſelf is not chargeable with them. The fact is, that the debts of the family were numerous and great. Thoſe in the hereditary dominions have ariſen from frequent wars, and the neceſſary proviſion for the younger part of the family; but beſides theſe, when the margrave ſucceeded to the government of Baden, which fell to him by the extenſion of another branch of the family, he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion. Prieſts, miſtreſſes, huntſmen, and cooks, had long vied with each other for the honour of accelerating the bankruptcy of the court of Radſtadt *; and in the laſt adminiſtration every thing had been purpoſely left to go to ruin, on the principle that the ſucceſſor was a proteſtant. Under theſe circumſtances the prince's mother thought the greateſt œconomy neceſſary, and ſhe carried it ſo far as to cauſe the flowers which grew in the court garden to be ſold, inſtead of permitting her daughters to

* Radſtadt is worth paſſing through by ſtrangers who have occaſion to go from Manheim to Straſburg, were it only to ſee the little cloſet in which Eugene and Villars ſigned the Treaty of Utrecht, and ſome rather uncommon monuments, which ſtand in the middle of the ſtreet.

wear

wear them in their boſoms. For this, though without the ſtricteſt œconomy the family muſt have been ruined, ſhe was much laughed at; perhaps in ſome degree deſervedly; but the mirth was kept up by ſome *beaux eſprits* in the neighbourhood, whoſe mercenary expectations the court had failed to gratify.

Carlſruhe is a neat little town conſiſting entirely of wooden buildings. It is built on a regular plan, and ſtands in the middle of a large foreſt, the remnant of that which, in the time of Tacitus, covered all Germany. Through this foreſt there are thirty-two regular avenues extending to a great diſtance. The town, built in the ſhape of a fan, ſtands upon nine of theſe; but you will have a better notion of it from the plans, which are ſold upon the ſpot, and are very well worth purchaſing, than from any thing I can ſay.

I cannot omit an anecdote which happened about forty years ago, and does the prince of that time great honour. A traveller who paſſed through expreſſed his ſurpriſe at ſeeing a palace entirely of wood. 'True, Sir,' ſaid the prince, 'you may think it ought at leaſt to have been 'of brick; but I could not be more magnifi-'cently lodged without laying expenſive taxes 'on my ſubjects, and I wanted only a roof to

'lay

'lay my head under.' Certainly the difference between a king of France and a margrave of Baden is very great; and yet it would not have been amiſs if the builders of the Louvre, Verſailles, and Marli, had attended a little more to ſuch conſiderations.

LETTER III.

Stutgart, April 14, 1780.

FROM Carlſruhe I returned here on foot, through a romantic, but in general very well cultivated country.

When you come into Lorraine from Champagne, you are ſtruck with a remarkable difference between the circumſtances of the farmers in old France, and thoſe of the newly acquired country, notwithſtanding that the governors have of late years done every thing that they could to make them alike; but in Alſace the contraſt is ſtill greater. The farmer of Alſace is quite a gentleman when compared with the old Frenchman. You will hear indeed heavy complaints of high taxes even at Straſburg; but it is only from ſuch as have no opportunity of eſtimating

eſtimating the advantage of their ſituation by compariſon.

In the part of Germany I have hitherto travelled through, the inhabitants are ſtill happier than in Alſatia. The form of government protects them from oppreſſion in the larger ſtates, ſuch as Wirtemberg, &c. and the emperor himſelf frequently interpoſes in the ſmaller ones. In my way from Carlſruhe hither, I could not ſufficiently admire the thriving ſtate of the people.

Before I give you any account of my excurſion into the neighbouring parts of Suabia, I muſt make you acquainted with the preſent ſtate of this court. No doubt, from what you have formerly heard, you will expect accounts of ſumptuous feaſts, balls, illuminations, hunting parties, concerts, and the like, but with any thing of that kind I ſhall not be able to entertain you. They no longer make artificial lakes on the tops of hills, and compel the peaſant to fill them with water, for the purpoſe of hunting a ſtag there; they no longer light up immenſe foreſts, and bring out fauns and dryads to dance midnight dances in them; you meet with no more winter gardens abounding in all the flowers of an European ſpring: even the famous Opera-houſe, where Noverre exhibited when

his fame was at the higheſt, is now a ſolitary ruin. This change aſtoniſhes you. I cannot explain it better than by giving you the duke's own words.

In 1778 this worthy prince took the opportunity of his birth-day to publiſh a manifeſto, of which the following is the ſubſtance: 'Being a man, and, from the condition of my nature, far removed from the ſtandard of perfection, and likely to remain ſo, it could not but fall out that, partly from the weakneſs incidental to human nature, and partly from the want of ſufficient ſagacity, and other cauſes, many events ſhould have taken place, which had they not happened, things would have been very different from what they now are, or are likely to be hereafter. This I acknowledge freely, as it is the duty of every upright thinking mind to do, and the conſideration of it reminds me of duties obligatory to every man, but ſtill more ſo to the anointed of the Lord upon earth. I conſider this day, in which I have entered into my fiftieth year, as beginning the ſecond period of my exiſtence.—I aſſure my loving ſubjects, that every ſucceſſive year of life, which it ſhall pleaſe divine Providence to beſtow, ſhall be dedicated to the promotion of their happineſs. — Henceforwards

'wards ſhall the proſperity of Wirtemberg be 'eſtabliſhed on the joint and firm baſis of the 'ſovereign's love for his people, and of the 'people's confidence in the affection of their ſo- 'vereign.—A ſubject, who thinks as he ought 'to do, will ſee that many circumſtances muſt 'ariſe, in which the good of the individual muſt 'give way to the good of the whole, nor murmur 'if things do not always take the turn which he 'would have wiſhed them to do.—We truſt that 'every man will, for the future, live in the con- 'fidence that he has a provident and anxious 'father in his prince: yes, may the conteſt who 'ſhall do moſt to make his native country happy, 'be from this day forth the only conteſt that ever 'ariſes between us.'

The duke is now quite a philoſopher; he founds ſchools, farms, cultivates arts and ſciences, and eſtabliſhes manufactures: in ſhort, he endeavours in every way poſſible to make up for what has been wrong.

Many cauſes had contributed to miſlead this prince in the earlier parts of life, and to give his mind, naturally a lively and impetuous one, a falſe direction. Amongſt the foremoſt, we may reckon the faſhion of the times, the bad examples ſet him by the Courts of Manheim and Dreſden, the taſte for falſe magnificence

which he had acquired in Italy, and the corruption of thoſe who ſurrounded him; many of whom, I am aſhamed to ſay it, were French. Theſe were the cauſes of that diſſipation of which Europe has heard ſo much. The conſequences were ſuch as might naturally have been foreſeen; debt, oppreſſive taxes, reſiſtance on the part of the ſtates of the country, and finally, a commiſſion of inquiry iſſued by the imperial court. The debts, upon examination, were found to amount to 1,200,000l. The evil counſellors, you may think, were removed; but this would have done little, but for the change which about this time took place in moſt of the leſſer courts of the empire, the princes of which, from being oppreſſive and expenſive tyrants, ſuddenly contracted a taſte for political œconomy and philoſophical purſuits. Into theſe the duke ran with as much ardour as he had formerly done into juvenile diſſipation.

I ſhould now give you an account of the ſeveral new eſtabliſhments for education, and particularly of the military academy; but I believe that you are already acquainted with them, and as to myſelf, I muſt confeſs ingenuouſly, that they do not pleaſe me. I ſuppoſe that as things are now circumſtanced, it is neceſſary to pour a great deal of knowledge into boys before the mind

mind is fit to receive it; ſtill I own that I cannot bear to ſee the intention of nature ſo perverted. My children, if I am bleſſed with any, ſhall grow up to theſe years like young Coſſacks.—But I ſhall take another opportunity to give you my ſentiments on education—at preſent ſomething more concerning Wirtemberg.

The greateſt part of the dukedom conſiſts in an entenſive valley, which is bounded on the eaſt by a chain of hills called the Alps; on the weſt by the Black Foreſt; on the north by a part of the mountain of Oden-Wald, and an arm of the Black Foreſt; and on the ſouth by the joint arms of the Alps, and the Black Foreſt *. On the whole, it inclines to the northward, and is watered in the middle by the Necker. Several ſmaller arms run off from the ſurrounding chains of hills towards the centre, croſs each other in various directions, and form little vallies, which are watered by an infinity of rivers. The land is rendered exceedingly fruitful by theſe leſſer hills, which ſhelter the vallies from the cold winds, and collect the heat of the ſun between them. The ſouthern ſides of theſe mountains and hills are planted with vines very high up,

* The Black Foreſt is the largeſt wood of Germany, being ſixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth.

and above there is excellent dyers wood, and bruſh wood; and at the bottom is a grey-coloured light mould, which yields all kinds of corn, but particularly barley, in aſtoniſhing plenty. Upon the whole, this country very much reſembles the middle part of Lorrain; but the ſoil is much better, and there are not ſo many ſtones in it. Excepting ſalt, which it is obliged to have recourſe to Bavaria for, it abounds in all the neceſſaries of life. What corn is not conſumed in the country is ſent to Switzerland, and the wine goes as far as England.

The whole extent of the country does not contain more than two hundred German, or two hundred and ſixty-ſix French ſquare miles. In this circuit there are about five hundred and ſixty thouſand inhabitants; that is, about two thouſand eight hundred to every German ſquare mile. Excepting thoſe parts of Germany which are in the neighbourhood of ſome capital cities, and ſome diſtricts of Italy, and the Netherlands, there is certainly no country in Europe ſo populous, in proportion to its extent, as this is. It is, however, ſo fruitful as to be able to ſupport as many more inhabitants.

The income of the duke amounts to three millions of florins*, or about 300,000l. *per*

* A German florin is two ſhillings of Engliſh money.

annum.

annum. I know that many printed calculations make the ſum ſmaller. But as there are few parts of Germany in which the taxes are not eſtimated at five florins per head, and in ſome they pay much more, why ſhould it not be ſo in Wirtemberg, which is one of the largeſt territories in Germany, and in which the ſubject is not more ſpared?

After the electors, the duke is beyond compariſon the greateſt prince in Germany, though the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, who has not above two thirds of the ſubjects or yearly income, is of more conſequence in the empire, on account of his connection with England.

The government of this dukedom is not ſo ſimple and unmixed, as that of the territory of Baden. Here are ſwarms of counſellors, ſecretaries, proctors, and advocates, of which more than half might be ſpared; but the nature of the government allows them to enjoy their appointments in idleneſs. Many of them, it is true, belong to the ſtates, whoſe duty it is to limit the authority of the prince; but notwithſtanding the many reductions in the houſehold itſelf, it is ſtill much too large for the duke's circumſtances.

The duke's army conſiſted formerly of fourteen thouſand men; and if his debts were paid,

and the other expences moderated, ſuch an eſtabliſhment might always be ſupported, as the population and revenues of the country appear to allow it. At the time of the change, however, they were reduced to about five thouſand men, and thoſe ſeem to be none of the beſt troops.

Stutgart contains about twenty thouſand inhabitants, and ſince the duke is returned, the population has been conſtantly on the increaſe. During the conteſt, in which Stutgart took a a very violent part, he removed to Louiſburg. Stutgart was inſtantly ſenſible of her loſs by it; ſhe made every poſſible effort to obtain his return, but all in vain: but after a reconciliation between the prince and the ſtates, the wiſh of the Stutgarders was at laſt accompliſhed.

The city is well built; the inhabitants are a handſome, ſtout people. The women are tall, and ſlender, with fair and ruddy complexions. The natural riches, the eaſe with which a maintenance is to be procured, either at court, or in the country, cauſe them to live exceedingly well. What would provide for twelve of our people, ſeems here to be only the portion of ſix. The Stutgarder is ſo attached to his home, that if you remove him but thirty miles from

from it, he is immediately ſeized with the *maladie du pais*.

Though the country throughout is proteſtant, and the duke alone a Catholic, there ſtill prevails a great deal of ſuperſtition and bigotry. The clergy are members of the ſtates, have a juriſdiction of their own, and are very wealthy.

The affection of the Wirtembergers towards their prince is remarkable. Even when the duke ſeemed to have no other care than how he ſhould load them with new taxes, he did not forfeit their attachment. The curſes of the people fell on his ſervants, and the crew of projectors who led him aſtray. But ſince theſe have been baniſhed, he is become the idol of his ſubjects; and he deſerves to be ſo.——Farewell.

LETTER IV.

Stutgart, May 20, 1780.

MY excurſions, in the neighbouring ſtates of the circle of Suabia, did not produce the rich booty I had promiſed to myſelf. I viſited

viſited a dozen free imperial towns, in which, notwithſtanding the republican form of government, not a ſpark of liberty or patriotiſm was to be ſeen. The inhabitants of theſe have, through the oppreſſion of more powerful neighbours, long ſince loſt all ſenſe of the value of independance; but though aſhamed to mention the name of their native country out of their own walls, within them they mimick the forms of old Rome, and after the manner of thoſe governors of the world, inſcribe their public buildings of ſtate with *Senatus Populuſque Hallenſis, Bopfingenſis, Nordlingenſis*, &c.

In the fifteenth century, the imperial cities of Suabia acted a very different part. They were then united in leagues, not only with each other, but with the cities of Franconia, and the Rhine. Even the emperor had ſometimes cauſe to be alarmed at their increaſing power, which, indeed, made Charles V. diſunite them. From the time of the aſſociation of the Hanſe towns, the gold had flowed from all the country into the cities. Theſe were the excluſive ſeats of induſtry, and their wealth drew into their dependance the neighbouring princes, who, at that time, lived by robberies. If the ſpirit of trade, which then prevailed, had ſuffered

fered them to place more value on the poſſeſſion of landed property, they would to this day have preſerved ſomewhat of their former ſplendour, as with their power they might have made many conqueſts, and with their wealth many purchaſes.

All hopes are now vaniſhed of their ever becoming again conſpicuous. As ſoon as the princes diſcovered the value of induſtry, and gave it free encouragement in their dominions, it fled into their protection, and abandoned the dark walls of cities in which a ſyſtem of monopolies, little policy, and narrow-minded envy of the ſucceſsful, laid it under ſo many reſtraints. In conſequence, the towns are ſo reduced, as to be obliged to ſell the little landed property they have, to diſcharge their debts. This has lately been the caſe with Ulm; the largeſt town in Suabia, next to Augſburg. Of the imperial towns which I have viſited, I can ſay nothing particular, but that Heilbron is beautifully ſituated, and Halle has a ſalt manufactory, which brings in three hundred thouſand florins, or thirty thouſand pounds *per annum*.

Having left theſe ſtates, I ran over, in a very ſhort time, about a dozen principalities, and prelacies, with the names of which I ſhall not trouble

trouble you. Almoſt the whole country conſiſts of well-wooded mountains and hills, and fertile vales, all in high cultivation. The great population which prevails here is wonderful, when you conſider the untoward circumſtances of the country. By untoward circumſtances, I mean the extortions of petty maſters, who all keep their miſtreſſes, their ſtag-hounds, their French cooks, and Engliſh horſes; the perpetual quarrels amongſt neighbours, which ariſe from the various perplexed governments of the empire; the ſmall profits attendant on induſtry within ſuch a confined ſpot; and laſtly, the conſtant decreaſe of coin, owing to the ſums of money expended by the governors of the country in ſearch of foreign luxuries. As religion, manners, attachment to the native ſpot, temperance, and frugality, all of which I am willing to allow that theſe people poſſeſs, do not appear to me ſufficient of themſelves to counterbalance theſe evils, I have but one way of accounting for the proſperity I ſee; which is this:

The right of holding property of their own, which the country people of theſe parts enjoy, could not of itſelf prevent theſe ſtates, which exiſt entirely by agriculture, from decay; becauſe

cauſe the extraordinary fruitfulneſs of the women, would, in time, require ſuch a partition of property, as would not leave enough to each farmer to buy beds for his children. I believe, therefore, that it is the emigrations, joined with this, that are to ſolve the phænomenon I am endeavouring to explain. Though Suabia is the moſt populous country in all Germany, there is no one the inhabitants of which migrate in ſuch large quantities.

Theſe emigrants are of two kinds. The major part are an idle ſet, who ſell their property to furniſh themſelves with money to travel into foreign countries, in ſearch of imaginary projects of fortune. The others are young men, who go out to try their fortune as mechanics, and when they ſucceed, part with their land to their other brothers for a ſmall conſideration. By theſe cauſes no greater load is thrown upon agriculture than it is able to bear; and it is well that there is not; for the ſole reſources of ſuch ſmall diſtricts, as thoſe we are now ſpeaking of, are in their agriculture. For the limits of their luxury are too narrow to admit of that variety of employments, and ways of gain, which diverſify the callings of men ſo infinitely in other countries; nor is it poſſible that manufactures ſhould thrive among them, whilſt they are circumſtanced

cumſtanced as they are; that is, ſurrounded by powerful princes, who lay great duties on their imports, in order to protect their own eſtabliſhments, and ſituated in a country which ſupplies them with few, if any, of the prime materials for work. They muſt therefore depend intirely on their agriculture, and they do ſo. I do not however mean to ſay, that, cultivated as it is, this country is not ſuſceptible of a much greater degree of improvement. It certainly is; and much more might be done.

Still, what has been done is ſurpriſing; nor is the cauſe leſs worthy of admiration. For it is owing to a ſteady adminiſtration of juſtice, and a ſet of political regulations which are to be met with in the ſmalleſt parts of the country, and which raiſed my wonder as often as I had occaſion to conſider them. We not only hear nothing here of the impreſſions of private individuals, but there are inſtances in which cauſes have been given againſt the petty lords of the country in their own courts. Indeed they have need to be careful; for no man, who is not ſtrong enough to bring a force in the field againſt the emperor, to whom there is always an appeal, would be ſuffered to go on long with impunity. It is but a few years ſince, that redreſs was obtained againſt a petty prince of

Suabia, who was going to drive his ſubjects out of their poſſeſſions, in order to make way for his ſtags and wild boars. But it muſt be owned, that ſuch extreme remedies as theſe are ſeldom neceſſary. There is an integrity ſtill adherent to the German character, and a kind of jovial humour about them, which makes the princes of the country ſtart from the acts of wanton oppreſſion and cruelty, which, with the ſame powers, would, no doubt, be exerciſed in Spain, Italy, and even in France. Give a German prince but room and food for his dogs and horſes (for about the welfare of theſe he is uncommonly ſolicitous) and you have little to fear from him in other reſpects;—that is, as an individual, for in the groſs they will clip you as cloſe as they can.

There is, however, one object in which there is great need of reformation, and that is the adminiſtration of criminal juſtice. The torture is not yet aboliſhed in theſe countries, and they ſtill behead, hang, break upon the wheel, and impale *ſecundum præcepta legis Carolinæ*. It is not very long ſince they burned a woman for being a witch; but that I believe is over. The civil law, too, is not yet reduced to that perfect ſtate which might be deſirable. Not that I am for getting rid of all forms, with your modern philoſophers, and leaving

ing every thing to the wiſdom of the judge, under the pretence that forms conſume too much time and money. That they conſume time and money I am ready to allow; but theſe are well employed when ſlow inveſtigation brings ſecurity in the final deciſion, and the neceſſity of abiding by forms prevents cupidity from practiſing on avarice. Give me a Socrates for a judge, and I will be content to abide by his deciſions; but whilſt judges are what they are, whilſt philoſophy comes out of the mouth and expires on the lips, it is better to truſt to a mode of proceſs, which leaves little room for the bad paſſions to play. I own, that ſome of the Gothic forms, ſtill practiſed in moſt of the German tribunals, might be aboliſhed without doing miſchief. But there are many in which the Gordian knot has been cut inſtead of being looſened.—Fare thee well.

LETTER V.

Augſburg.

I Have made you wait thus long for a letter, as a puniſhment for your intolerable lazineſs; but as you appear penitent in the ſhort epiſtle

epiſtle I received yeſterday, and Nannette intercedes for you in the poſtſcript, ſhall reſume the correſpondence.

At Stutgart I met with a friend with whom I made an excurſion very far into the Black Foreſt. The inhabitants of thoſe parts of it which belong to the dutchy of Wirtemberg are not near ſo handſome, well-made, or lively, as thoſe who live near the Necker, and in the adjoining vallies. The men are clumſy, and the women yellow, ill-ſhaped, and wrinkled at the age of thirty. They diſtinguiſh themſelves from their neighbours, by a more frightful taſte in dreſs, and a ſhocking want of cleanlineſs. Kalb is the beſt town in theſe parts. It has conſiderable manufactures, and the inhabitants diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conteſts with the duke, by an uncommon degree of ſpirit, love of liberty, and attachment to the conſtitution.

I am not able to account ſatisfactorily to myſelf for the uglineſs of this people. Hard labour, and little food, may contribute to it, but cannot be the only reaſon; for in the country of Furſtemberg, and particularly in the Auſtrian parts of this great chain of hills, we ſaw very handſome people, who did not ſeem to live better than the Wirtembergers do. Poſſibly the uglineſs of the latter may be owing to the ſitua-

tion, and depth of the vallies, to the air, and perhaps to the water.

These journies over the mountains had particular charms for me. I fancied myself in a new world. One inchanting prospect exceeded another in variety and beauty. Mountains, and chains of mountains of the most extraordinary forms, cataracts, woods, small lakes in the deep hollows, precipices; in short, every thing I saw was in so grand a style, that I am not vain enough to attempt to describe it in a letter.

After resting some days with my friend at Stutgard, I set out for the lake of Constance, where my wishes had long gone before me. In my way thither, I came over another chain of hills called the Alps, which run through the middle of Suabia from north-east to south-west. This chain stretches from the frontiers of Suabia, between Bavaria and Franconia, as far as Fichtelberg, and joins with the mountains of Bohemia.

The object most worthy notice in this journey, was the family seat of the king of Prussia. Who would believe that the great Frederick, who withstood the united strength of the greatest powers of Europe, and preserved the balance in the north, was the descendant of a younger branch of the house of Hohenzollern, the smallest principality of Germany, the two surviving branches

branches of which, Hechingen and Siegmaring, have not together ſeventy thouſand florins, or ſeven thouſand pounds, income? The younger brother of one of our marquiſſes, being informed of this by a Pruſſian, gave a ſnap with his fingers, and ſaid, *Voila un Cadet qui a fait fortune.*

We travelled directly through the princedom of Hohenzollern, the breadth of which is little more than ten miles. It may be about fifty miles in length, but including the detached part of Siegmaringen, does not contain more than twelve thouſand people. The country is exceedingly full of hills and woods, and the princes have always been great hunters. Thoſe who now ſway the ſceptre are amiable men, who, you may ſuppoſe, do not forget that the king of Pruſſia is their relation. If I miſtake not, a count of Hohenzollern was not long ſince made coadjutor to the chapter of Ermeland by the king.

We viewed the caſtle of Hechingen, which ſtands on a high mountain, and commands an extenſive proſpect over the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and the neighbouring country. I have heard that one of the ancient governors of this ſmall territory, could not forbear ſaying, as he was walking with his attendants on the caſtle

terrace, and ſurveying with delight the wild and beautiful country round him, 'The *little coun-* 'try' of Wirtemberg would be a pretty addition 'to the territory of Hohenzollern.' If this anecdote ſhould not be true, it is not ill invented, the *little country* of Wirtemberg, being at leaſt thirty times as large as the whole territory of Hohenzollern.

I was tranſported at the ſight of the lake of Conſtance; but ſhall not attempt any poetical deſcription of it, as I ſhould uſe a very rough crayon indeed, to pourtray a ſcene of infinite variety and beauty. I ſhall therefore only give you my philoſophical and political reflections on the country and its inhabitants. Indeed you well know, that where my feelings are the moſt intereſted, I am leaſt happy in expreſſing them.

What at firſt ſight is moſt ſtriking in this great piece of water, which divides Germany from Switzerland, through ſo great a length of country, is, that there ſhould be no town of any importance about it. Conſtance, which is the moſt reſpectable, hardly contains ſix thouſand inhabitants, whilſt Schaffhauſen, St. Gallen, Zurich, and ſome places which are not far diſtant, though leſs advantageouſly ſituated, are very flouriſhing cities. It has no trade to ſignify,

nor

nor the ſmalleſt manufacture of any kind. This is more extraordinary, becauſe throughout the country, the Bavarian peaſant ſeems not only more alive and alert than the Swiſs, but has an advantage over him in morals and induſtry.

In Conſtance one is ſtrongly induced to conſider this want of induſtry, the neglect of the advantages which nature holds out, and the vices which prevail, as intirely owing to the religion. In Alſace, and among the lower Suabians, I had already found more ſpirit of trade in the proteſtants than in the catholics, whom numerous holidays, pilgrimages, holy fraternities, the immoderately inculcated doctrine of the contempt of worldly things, the expectation of ſome wonderful ſupport from God, the eaſe of finding a proviſion in cloiſters, and laſtly, very narrow and contracted minds, all contribute to corrupt. Theſe diſadvantages, however, as far as concerns the peaſants of the two countries we are ſpeaking off, are compenſated by the heavineſs and ſavageneſs of the reformed Swiſs; ſpecimens of which, I ſhall, at a future time, lay before you; but in the towns, the greater number of churches and cloiſters, added to the above cauſes on the one ſide, and the greater degree of knowledge on the other, create a difference which is very ſtriking, and is infinitely

increaſed by a number of other cauſes beſides religion.

It is evident, I think, from the example of France, the Auſtrian Netherlands, and various Italian ſtates, that the Roman catholic religion does not of itſelf ſtifle induſtry, of which there may exiſt a great deal with a ſtrong tinge of ſuperſtition, juſt as the knight of La Manca, when taken out of his quixotiſm, ſhewed himſelf both a gentleman and a philoſopher. In this country, likewiſe, religion is not ſo much the principal, as the acceſſary cauſe; and it is owing to local circumſtances, that the German catholic is not ſo induſtrious as the French or Genoeſe.

The chief of theſe is certainly the mode of education. You would be aſtoniſhed to ſee the difference of education in the German proteſtant, and the German catholic towns, as well as between the French and German catholic. All I need ſay on the ſubject is, that the *Jeſuits*, to whom we owe ſo much on this head, and whom all our patriots ſo much wiſh for back again, are in Germany the protectors of every thing barbarous and ſavage. They ſtrive as ardently to ſuppreſs every emanation of genius here, as thoſe of their order endeavoured to kindle it amongſt us.

But another obſtacle to induſtry in this country, is the ſtupid, ridiculous pride of the nobles. Whilſt the Swiſs merchant and manufacturer bears a part in the government of his country, the Canon of Conſtance looks with contempt on the citizen who is indebted for his riches, not to a doubtful genealogy, but to his underſtanding and induſtry. This makes a deep impreſſion on the citizen; who, inſtead of increaſing his capital by his induſtry, purchaſes a title, endeavours to put on the noble, and then, with a pride ſtill more contemptible, inſults his fellows.

In the next place, the frugal way of living of the Swiſs very much contributes to the increaſe of their manufactures. The daily repaſt of an inhabitant of the middle ſtation of life in Conſtance, would make a ſumptuous feaſt for one of St. Gallen. True it is, that as every ill has its attendant good, their conviviality may be the cauſe why the Suabians are evidently ſo much better tempered than the Swiſs.—Add to all this, that Conſtance is in a manner neglected, on account of its diſtance from the Court of Vienna. The Swiſs, it is ſaid, made overtures to eſtabliſh manufactures there, but they failed. I am ignorant whether the failure was owing to the

intolerance of the court, to the jealouſy of the ſenate of Conſtance, which is conſtantly ſolicitous to preſerve ſomething of its former importance as a free imperial town, or to the above mentioned pride of the nobles.

The biſhop reſides at Moerſburg, a ſmall town on the oppoſite border of the lake. He has an income of about ſeventy thouſand florins, or 7000l. *per annum*. He has very conſiderable poſſeſſions in Switzerland. The other places worth notice, on the German ſide, are Uberlingen and Lindau.

The Swiſs ſide of this ſmall lake is more pleaſant to view than the German. The beautiful mixture of the neighbouring hills planted with vines, the ſtraggling appearance of the farm-houſes with orchards round them, the ſmall and varied patches of all the different kinds of agriculture, make it more agreeable to the eye than the Suabian villages, the houſes of which ſtand together as in towns, and are often encompaſſed by a great corn field, or a wide meadow. Upon the whole, I believe that both ſides of the lake are equally well inhabited. The Swiſs ſoil is more ſtony and heavy than the German, and though the Thurgau is one of the beſt parts of Switzerland, it is indebted to Suabia

for

for a part of the prime neceſſary of life, to wit, corn, which it repays in wine and fruits.

They little think in Holland, how much they owe to the lake of Conſtance. As matters even now are, they can hardly guard againſt the ſand, which being waſhed down from the Alps by the Aar, and other rivers, into the Rhine, threatens to ſtop up the mouth of the latter, and already leaves room to apprehend ſome violent revolution, by the great ſand banks it has raiſed. But if the great reſervoir we ſpeak of did not intercept by far the largeſt quantity of the ſand, which the rapid ſtream of the Rhine waſhes from the high Buntnerland, Holland muſt have been already buried under a new ſand, and the courſe of the Rhine being altered by it, muſt have totally changed the figure of the country. It is true, that theſe changes muſt neceſſarily happen. However conſiderable the depth of this lake may be, it muſt at laſt be filled up, and the ſooner, becauſe the ſtream, as it flows from Conſtance through the upper parts of Germany, is always deepening its bed, and the lake loſes exactly ſo much water as it gains in ſand. On the other hand, if we reflect how much ſo great a baſon as this lake may contain; if we calculate its contents as De

la Torre did thoſe of Veſuvius, we ſhall think that the Dutch are ſecure for many generations.

It was impoſſible for me to leave this country without viſiting the famous Fall of the Rhine at Lauffen, where I beheld the fineſt ſpectacle I had ever ſeen. As no painting or print of this magnificent ſcene of nature had ever come in my way, and I knew it only from general report, that which probably happens to all who do not carry with them ſome diſtinct idea of it happened to me. My imagination had deceived me. I had fancied to myſelf one of the wildeſt ſpots of the world, and the Rhine falling from a great height into an unfathomable gulf. The contraſt between the reality and my idea, made the ſurprize more agreeable. Indeed the circumſtance took place here, which generally attends all great works of nature and art, the true greatneſs and beauty of which do not ſtrike at firſt ſight, but are felt on cloſer obſervation and compariſon of their parts. I found the fall not near ſo high, but far more beautiful than I had expected. The amphitheatre of hills covered with trees; the two rocks, (on one of which is placed the caſtle of Lauffen; on the other, a village, with a mill before it,) which, like the two front pillars of a theatre, ſtand on each ſide of the fall; the breadth of the fall; the beautiful

tiful diviſion of its different deſcending waters; the rich baſon underneath; the agreeable, and almoſt artificial mixture of wild cultivated country; in ſhort, every thing was more delightful than my expectation had formed it.

The height from which the water falls, is near fifty feet, including the little inclination it makes preparatory to its precipitation, which can only be ſeen from the riſing ground above it. It was formerly conſiderably higher, and many perſons ſtill living remember a piece of the rock in the middle of the precipice, which has been worn away by the water. I think I could obſerve, from the rock on which the caſtle of Lauffen ſtands, that the ſtream was gradually deepening its courſe. It follows therefore, as I ſaid before, that the lake of Conſtance muſt diminiſh in proportion as the Rhine deepens its bed. In my journey hither, I ſaw evident marks of new land near Lindau. The lake of Conſtance has this in common with all lakes, which lay high. This diminution muſt be the moſt remarkable in the lake of Neufchatel.

I made an agreeable little tour to the iſland of Meinau, a commandery of the Teutonic order at a ſmall diſtance from Conſtance. The commander's houſe is a handſome new building, and

and commands an excellent proſpect over all the lake of Conſtance. Mr. Coxe ſeems not to have underſtood the plan of the caſtle gardens. He conſiders it as a want of taſte to have obſtructed the free view of the lake, by plantations of ſhrubs; but theſe lead a ſtranger imperceptibly to the deſired ſpot, where he is ſurpriſed with the proſpect, and ſees the whole lake, and all the ſplendid landſcape around, in full beauty. An uninterrupted view of the water from the garden would not be very pleaſing, as it may be conſtantly enjoyed from the windows of the palace.

Before I leave Conſtance, I muſt recall to your memory, a man, who, for ſome years paſt, has made ſome noiſe in the public papers. It was on this ſtage that the celebrated Geſner began his career, who in a ſhort time expelled ſo many millions of devils, and cured ſo many hundred bigots. An order of the Biſhop of Conſtance having prohibited ſuch miracles in his dioceſe, forced him to take refuge under the protection of the prelate of Salmanſweiler, who, by the ſtrength of hard gold, always purchaſes of the pope an exemption from the biſhop's power. In oppoſition to the Biſhop, the prelate eſpouſed the part of the refugee with much warmth; and his fortune was made by the

the perſecution he underwent. The prelate's ſteward ſupplied him with ſome barrels of ſtinking oil, and other commodities, which he uſed for the purpoſe of his cures, and in the furniſhing of which the other found his account.

LETTER VI.

Augſburg.

AFTER having gone all round the lake of Conſtance, I directed my journey from Lindau hither, and paſſed through ſome decayed imperial cities, which had been under the neceſſity of requeſting from the Emperor an exemption from furniſhing their proportion of tax for the public exigencies of the empire, and were now actually dwindled into villages. Memmingen, however, is an exception. It has ſome manufactures in it, and ſtill reſembles a town. I met, by accident, with an extract from the chronicle of this little town, which runs in the ſame old womaniſh ſtyle, with all other chronicles of ſmall towns. I will tranſcribe ſome paſſages from it, as they paint the character of the people.

'In

'In the year 1448, the taverns of the town 'were exhauſted of wine; the ſenate ſent a 'formal deputation to the Necker, to procure 'this indiſpenſible neceſſary for its ſubjects. As 'the waggon with the wine was approaching, 'the body of the citizens went in proceſſion 'to meet it, with drums beating, and colours 'flying, and there was a public bonefire or-'dered.—'

'In the year 1449, there happened, on St. 'Galen's day, in the church of St. Martin, 'ſome diſpute among the women concerning the 'pews, which at laſt bred a fray amongſt them, 'in the church itſelf. The clergy imagined it 'neceſſary to new conſecrate the church, which 'had been thus prophaned; but the ſenate 'oppoſed it with all their power, as it had only 'beena fray of women.'

Both theſe characteriſtics of the people ſtill prevail. The Suabian has ſtill the ſame veneration for wine, and the ſame maſtery over his wife.

From hence I came through numberleſs earldoms, and lordſhips, the moſt conſiderable of which are the poſſeſſions of the counts Truchſeſſe and Fugger; theſe might be conſidered as principalities, were they not divided among ſo many branches of the families.

The

The whole tract of country, from the lake of Conſtance here, is not near ſo well cultivated as lower Suabia. The manners of the people alſo are much inferior. There is a ſtriking difference in the perſons of the men. The inhabitants of theſe parts are ugly, and their features are ſo diſtorted, that the ſight diſguſts one. Nature too has done ſtill leſs for them, than for their neighbours. The whole of their country is a plain, which is interſected only by one ridge of woody hills, between Lindau and Leutkirchen. The ſoil is only fit for tillage; whereas, in Lower Suabia, the mixture of mountains, hills, and valleys, allows of every kind of agriculture.

The efficient cauſe of the ruin of this country, is, its being parcelled out into ſo many ſmall baronies; many of the owners of which live at the great courts, and draw the money out of the country. It is needleſs for a traveller to aſk, if the maſter of theſe poſſeſſions reſides upon his property; as one can eaſily diſcover in the looks of the people, and the forſaken aſpect of the country, that he does not. Whilſt the baron is making a figure at court, his vaſſals are expoſed to the oppreſſions of a rapacious ſteward, who generally contrives, in the ſpace of a few years, to amaſs ſo much wealth as to enable him

to

to reſign his office, and commence baron himſelf.

If a life of extravagance, and a ridiculous paſſion for titles, was not ſo univerſal amongſt them; if they had more love for the arts and ſciences; if they had a taſte for more elegant pleaſures than horſes, equipages, and ſervants can afford; if they could bring over from France ſomething more becoming than a ſtiff carriage, an affected walk, a taſte for gaming, and a wretched jargon, the German nobles might be the happieſt claſs of human beings. Almoſt entirely independant, as the nature of the conſtitution makes them, they might become, in the fulleſt ſenſe, the creators of the happineſs of their ſubjects, and in return receive their adoration. But they appear not to have ſufficient ſenſibility to follow ſuch a line of conduct. Nature takes her revenge, and the conſequence of their idle extravagance at the courts is, that their eſtates run gradually in debt, and their reſources vaniſh.

Augſburg is one of the oldeſt towns in Germany, and one of the moſt remarkable of them, as it is there, and at Nuremberg, that you meet with the oldeſt marks of German art, and induſtry. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the commerce of this town was the moſt ex-

extenſive of any part of ſouth Germany, and contributed much to the civilization of the country, by the works of art, and variety of neceſſaries to the comfort and convenience of life, which it was the means of introducing. Many things originated in this town, which have had a great influence on the happineſs of mankind. Not to mention the many important diets of the empire held here; here, in 952, did a council confirm the order for the celibacy of prieſts; here, in 1530, was the confeſſion of faith of the proteſtants laid before the emperor, and other eſtates of Germany, and here, in 1555, was ſigned the famous treaty of peace, by which religious liberty was ſecured to Germany.

Many of the houſes are old and ugly, and are built with ſo little attention to the rules of modern taſte, that Winckelman renounced living in Germany after he had ſeen them; but this is what the Engliſh call peeviſhneſs; and to be ſo much taken up with beauty and form, as to be blind to every other conſideration, is folly and vice. The houſes in Augſburg muſt not be conſidered as Roman and Greek temples, but as monuments of the architecture of the times in which they were built. Whoever conſiders them in that light, and compares them with the houſes

built at Lubeck and Nuremberg in the ſame century, will ſee to what a much greater degree of magnificence Augſburg had arrived in thoſe early times. He will ſee too a great deal of real beauty of proportion, uniformity, correſpondence of parts, &c. &c.

The looks of the inhabitants of Augſburg have ſomething very ſtriking in them. They are a compound of the Suabian and Bavarian features. The proteſtants are moſt like the Suabians, and the catholics the Bavarians. It is an obſervation, which has been frequently made, and undoubtedly a true one, that you may diſtinguiſh a proteſtant of Augſburg, from a catholic, by his looks and manner. Any perſon who goes into their reſpective churches, will ſee ſtriking characteriſtical differences in the face. As the catholics are more catholic at Augſburg than in any other part of the world, and as the followers of the ſeveral religions ſeldom intermarry, this difference may the more eaſily be accounted for.

The beſt accounts of the ſucceſſive variations of the government of Augſburg, which is ariſtocratical, is to be met with in *D. Langemantel's Hiſtorie des Regiments der Stadt Augſburg, Fol.* and in *P. von Stelten des altern Geſchichte von Augſburg,*

burg, 2 vol. in 4to, which carry it down to the year 1649.

The police of the place is very good, and though the town has no territory, it has no debts. The water works of Augſburg deſerve notice much more than thoſe of Marly, the mechaniſm of them is much more ſimple, and the advantage of them much more conſpicuous.

Augſburg is, however, no longer what it was. It no longer has a Fugger, and a Welſer in it, to lend the Emperor millions. In this large and handſome town, formerly one of the greateſt trading towns in Germany, there are no merchants at preſent to be found, who have capitals of more than 20,000l. The others, moſt of whom muſt have their coaches, go creeping on with capitals of 3, or 4,000l. and do the buſineſs of brokers, and commiſſioners. Some houſes, however, carry on a little banking trade, and the way through Tyrol, and Graubundten, occaſions ſome little exchange between this place and Germany.

After theſe brokers and doers of buſineſs by commiſſion, the engravers, ſtatuaries, and painters, are the moſt reputable of the labouring part of the city. Their productions, like the toys of Nuremberg, go every where. There are always ſome people of genius amongſt them;

but the ſmall demand for their art affords them ſo little encouragement, that to prevent ſtarving, they are moſtly confined to the ſmall religious works, which are done elſewhere by Capuchin monks. They furniſh all Germany with little pictures for prayer books, and to hang in the citizens houſes. Indeed the arts meet with little ſupport in this country. The man of faſhion had much rather keep horſes and hounds, and a uſeleſs train of ſervants, by whom he is cheated, than provide for an ingenious artiſt, and even when, in obedience to faſhion, he is compelled to make ſome ſacrifice to genius, he reſts no confidence in the abilities of his countryman. As he is ſeldom poſſeſſed of taſte and diſcernment himſelf; he is directed in his choice by the reputation of ſome foreign artiſt, and leaves merit in his own country to ſtarve. In other provinces of Germany, matters appear to be no better ordered; Mengs, Winckelman, Gluck, Haſſe, Handel, and many others, were obliged to acquire reputation abroad, before their merits were acknowledged at home.

There is an academy of arts inſtituted here, under the protection of the magiſtrates. It ſeems, however, like its patrons, to have no other aim than to produce good mechanics, and preſerve the manufactures of the city. The

ſenate,

ſenate, for ſome time paſt, has been deliberating on ſimilar projects, for the encouragement of induſtry. As I take part in any improvement for ſocial happineſs, I was extremely mortified to ſee theſe intentions thwarted, by the very governors of the town themſelves.

The grounds of this inconſiſtent oppoſition, ariſe in great meaſure from the form of government. The patricians, who, with a very ſmall addition of the mercantile part, govern the town ariſtocratically, cannot bear to ſee the plebeian enabled by his induſtry to carry his head above them. Though they extol induſtry in the ſenate, they hate and perſecute it in the workſhop. One Shulin, who has made his fortune by a great cotton-work, is a lamentable example of this duplicity. As the millions his induſtry has brought, allow him to live more ſplendidly than the patricians with empty titles, he is become the object of their moſt furious perſecution.*

This deſpicable policy takes its origin in the general corruption of the country. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants are the moſt infamous raſcals

* Mr. Nicolai is of a different opinion, he ſays that the Burghers take great part in the government, and that this is one of the free imperial cities in which there is moſt liberty, infinitely more than at Nuremberg or Ulm.

imaginable, fellows, who, on the leaſt ſignal, are ready to cut one another's throats on account of religion; who ſpend their week's wages every Sunday in ale-houſes, and never reflect on the greatneſs of their predeceſſors, but when the liquor is fermenting in their brain. I have told you already, that the government is partly catholic, and partly proteſtant. Upon the whole, the catholics may, I believe, be more numerous than the proteſtants. It is quite impoſſible to give any idea of all the ridiculous incidents occaſioned by the religious diſputes. Every day produces ſome unexpected occurrence, which makes one both laugh and complain. They never bruſh a cobweb from a public building, without mingling religion in the buſineſs. The catholics, who are more zealous than the proteſtants, ſupport a controverſial preacher here, as they do in all the towns, where the religion is of the mixed kind. This man, at certain times, ſets one half of Augſburg a laughing, the other a raving. He who fills this part at preſent, is an ex-jeſuit; who is of one the beſt comedians of the kind I have ſeen. The exceſſive poverty and indolence of the people, make them regardleſs of their own rights. The ariſtocracy would not be ſo powerful if the people had more underſtanding, and attachment to their con-

conſtitution. But liberty is no dearer to them than the chaſtity of their daughters, whom their canons, whoſe incomes are about 200l. per annum, purchaſe every year by dozens.

The other tenth of the inhabitants conſiſts of ſome patrician families, amongſt whom there are ſome very polite people, of the merchants, artiſts and clergy. But there is too much idle extravagance amongſt even the moſt prudent, and too many jealouſies about them all for true patriotiſm to take root amongſt them. This town, which is nine miles and a half in circumference, contains hardly 30,000 people,* and their collective capital ſcarcely exceeds 1,500,000l. ſo that their yearly decreaſe becomes more and more apparent. If ſome fortunate circumſtances do not ariſe, another century will ſee them reduced to abſolute beggary.

The more modern part of this town is truly beautiful; and the ſenate houſe is one of the handſomeſt buildings that I have ſeen in all my travels. One would believe, that in proportion as the internal reſources had diminiſhed, the magiſtracy had become more attentive to ex-

* Mr. Nicolai makes them 34 or 35,000, and ſays there are 28,000 houſes.

ternal decoration. But it is as with the falſe bloom on a courtezan's cheek, it may beguile the paſſing ſtranger, but whoever ſees her at her toilet will ſoon be undeceived. A ſhort time ſince, on the publication of an order for the water ſpouts, which uſed to ſpout the water upon the ſtreets, and injure the pavement, to be in future carried through their houſes, a company of merchants entered a proteſt, beginning with theſe words: 'The Romans were 'not arrived at the pinnacle of their great-'neſs when the Appian way was made.' I know not whether the writer of the remonſtrance was in jeſt; but, as the common proverb ſays, that 'every compariſon is lame,' this is ſo indeed.

The city has its drinking water from the river Lech, which runs at ſome diſtance from it. The aqueducts which convey the water, are much to be admired. As the court of Bavaria has it in its power to cut off this indiſpenſible neceſſary, by threatening the town with doing ſo, it often lays it under contribution. But as it has, beſides this, other means of keeping the high council in a ſtate of dependance, to ſecure itſelf from this oppreſſion, the city ſeeks the Emperor's protection, upon whom it makes itſelf as dependant on the other ſide,

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ſo as to be indeed only a ball, which both courts play with. The Emperor's miniſter to the circle of Suabia, generally reſides here, and by ſo doing ſecures to his court a perpetual influence. There are always Auſtrian and Pruſſian recruiting parties quartered here, and the partiality of the government to the former is very remarkable. In the war of 1756, the citizens were divided into equal parties for the two courts. The catholics conſidered the Emperor as their god; and the proteſtants did the ſame by the king of Pruſſia. The flame of religion had almoſt kindled a bloody civil war amongſt them.

The biſhop takes his name from this town; but reſides at Dillingen. He has an income of about 20,000l. *per annum*. As a proof of the catholiciſm of this place, the Pope, throughout his whole progreſs, met no where with ſuch honours as he did here. This he owed to his friends the jeſuits, who have ſtill great influence.

LETTER VII.

Augſburg.

OF all the circles of the empire, Suabia is the moſt divided, it contains four eccleſiaſtic, and thirteen lay principalities, nineteen independant prelacies and abbeys, twenty-ſix earldoms and lordſhips, and thirty-one free cities. The prime directors of the circle, as they are termed, are the biſhop of Conſtance, and the duke of Wirtemberg, which laſt has the ſole direction of all that relates to war.

The mixture of the various forms of government, and religious ſects; the oppreſſion exerciſed by the great on the leſſer; the game conſtantly played by the Emperor, who poſſeſſes many pieces of detached country in Suabia, which depend not on the circle, and can, in conſequence of his privileges as archduke of Auſtria, extend his poſſeſſions in it by various ways, are circumſtances which give the cultivation of the country, and the character of the inhabitants, a moſt extraordinary caſt. In ſeveral of the poſt towns where you ſtop, you ſee the higheſt degree

gree of cultivation in the midſt of the moſt ſavage wildneſs, a great degree of knowledge and poliſh of manners, mixed with the groſſeſt ignorance, and ſuperſtition; traces of liberty, under the deepeſt oppreſſion; national pride, together with the contempt and neglect of the native country; in ſhort, all the ſocial qualities in ſtriking contraſt, and oppoſition to each other.

Thoſe parts of Suabia, which belong to the greater potentates, ſuch as Wirtemberg, Auſtria and Baden, are certainly the moſt improved. The whole of Suabia may comprehend about nine hundred German ſquare miles, and two millions of people. More than half of theſe are ſubjects of the three above mentioned houſes, though they do not own, by a great deal, one half the land.

If the ſmall German lords would reſtrain themſelves within due bounds, if they would not appear greater than they really are, if they were more affectionate to their ſubjects, if they were not inſenſible to the ſofter feelings of humanity, and ſo hoſtile to the muſes and graces, the very ſmallneſs of theſe ſtates might conſtitute their happineſs. For although a ſmall country muſt neceſſarily part with ſome money to procure what it wants from abroad, yet if the

the governor does not require many luxuries, a prudent œconomy and management will keep this within due bounds. Beſides, as moſt of the ſovereigns in this part of the world are catholics, and the rich foundations in the neighbourhood lay open to their younger ſons, they are not incumbered with the care of making other proviſion for them. Many of themſelves too belong to the church, and their preferments there might prevent their laying any burthens on their ſubjects. But the happineſs of their people, is never the ſtudy of theſe gentlemen, who, from the want of family ties, conſider themſelves as unconnected with the country, and think their only buſineſs is to act like generals in an enemy's land, and plunder what they can. Were it not for this, their exemption from ſupporting any military eſtabliſhments, the eaſe with which a ſmall country may be governed; the diſtance from the political diſtractions of the greater ſtates, the ſecurity that the other powers of Germany cannot play the great conqueror over them, and many other circumſtances, might be improved into bleſſings on theſe ſmall ſocieties.

The courts of Stutgard and Carlſruhe are the only ones I have met with, which ſeemed to have any ſenſe of the duty of making the ſubject

ject happy. The reſt appear vain enough to conceive their people created for them, not themſelves for their people. The treaſurers of theſe petty lords, with ſome of whom I was well acquainted, make a very eſſential difference between the intereſts of the court, and thoſe of the people; and though the ſubject is under no apprehenſion, as I have ſaid, of groſs tyranny; yet he is by no means ſafe from having his pocket picked by the nicer operations of finance.

The education of moſt of theſe lords is ſo thoroughly neglected, as hardly to admit of better hopes. It is almoſt univerſally in the hands of prieſts. Part of theſe are monks, whoſe knowledge is in a manner all wrapped up in their cowls, and part are young *abbes*, who are juſt come from ſchool, and only ſeek to make their fortunes by the connections of their pupils. The monk teaches that a reverence to Saint Francis, Benedict, or Ignatius, a regular attendance on maſs, the telling beads, and giving alms to monaſteries, are objects, which will make amends for many tranſgreſſions of another kind.

LETTER VIII.

Munich.

THE road from Augſburg to Munich, lies through Dachau, which is two miles from Augſburg and Nymphenburg. Great part of the country, which you ſee on this road, is intirely uncultivated. There was a project to bring the Memnonites from the Palatinate to cultivate it, but it failed, becauſe the court confeſſor exclaimed againſt any introduction of different religions. The buildings at Nymphenburg are magnificent, and deſerve to be viewed.

The caſtle of Nymphenburg was began in 1663, by the Electreſs Adelaide, conſort of the Elector Ferdinand Maria; but much has been added to it by the ſucceeding electors. Many things are worth looking at in the palace, and the gardens are the largeſt in Germany; but what is moſt remarkable, are the rooms which contain the pictures of the ſixteen miſtreſſes of the Elector Maximilian Emanuel, and the Emperor Charles the Seventh. The public exhibition of theſe portraits is an offence to public

manners, which has not, perhaps, its like in Europe.

In the gardens there is a cloyſter of nuns of Notre Dame, and under the ſame roof, parted only by a wall, an Hoſpice of capuchin friars. This cuſtom of building convents and cloyſters near each other, was very common in the tenth century.

There is a china manufacture here, but it ſeems fallen to decay.

On my arrival at the inn, a pretty hoſteſs ſtepped up, looked me very ſuſpiciouſly in the face, and put ſeveral queſtions; which, for want of ſufficient ſkill in her provincial dialect, I could anſwer but by halves. As I cannot endure to be much queſtioned by innkeepers, I deſired her, ſomewhat roughly, to let me know, without any more ceremony, whether I could lodge and board in her houſe for ſome days? With a great deal of difficulty, ſhe at laſt gave me to underſtand, that ſhe had taken me for a Jew, and had ſworn to ſome ſaint or other, never to entertain a Jew. I was, as you may ſuppoſe, near leaving the houſe; an explanation, however, took place, and the next day, after my beard, which was rather of the longeſt, had been taken off, we were fully reconciled, and have agreed very well ever ſince.

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In my way hither, I ſtole ſufficient time to remark that the agriculture of this part of the country is not in ſo improved a ſtate as even that of Suabia. I ſaw ſeveral Suabian villages, which deſerved the appellation of towns much more than ſome of the miſerable holes I have met with ſince my arrival in Bavaria. There are ſix of theſe about Munich, in which the wide ſcattered houſes are far more numerous than the inhabitants.

I am ſtill too little acquainted with this court and country, to be able to ſay any thing confidently about either. But as I propoſe ſtopping here ſome time, ſhall impart to you, in due order, the reſult of my enquiries. In the meantime, as I am a diligent frequenter of the German theatre, I feel a deſire to entertain you, as far as my ability yet goes, with a ſtate of the dramatic part of German literature.

Thoſe who underſtand German, perceive even at Straſburg, that Germany has, for ſome years paſt, been ſtruck with a rage for theatrical exhibitions. The bookſellers ſhops are from time to time over-run with new plays, and theatrical almanacks; and writings of the dramatic kind, always occupy a third part in the catalogues of new books. Dramatic poetry is certainly

tainly the higheſt ſpecies of poetry; as hiſtorical painting is the higheſt ſpecies of painting; nor can any thing be more uſeful than to repreſent man in his various characters, and ſituations, with truth and juſtice. But ſuch men as appear at preſent in moſt of the German plays, are rarely met with in the world; and when here and there ſuch do make their appearance, the police of the place, if there is any police, takes the charge of them upon itſelf, and lodges them in Bedlam, or a workhouſe.

You muſt know, my dear brother, that the characters moſt frequent on the German ſtage, are frantic lovers, parricides, highwaymen, miniſters, miſtreſſes, and men of faſhion, with their pockets full of daggers and poiſon, melancholy and raving men of all ſorts, and incendiaries, and grave-diggers. Perhaps you will not believe me, but I could name to you above twenty pieces, the chief characters in which are mad, and where the poet has endeavoured to exhibit his *forte* in the diſplay of folly, and diſtraction of mind. I aſſure you too, upon my honour, that that part of the German public with which I have had the honour to be acquainted hitherto, admire, and moſt violently applaud thoſe ſcenes which ſhew the madman in his wildeſt tranſports. There are

plays in which the chief character ſucceſſively murders from twelve to fifteen people; and by way of crowning the meritorious deed, plants a dagger in his own breaſt. It is a fact, that the pieces which have moſt madmen and murderers in them, meet with the greateſt approbation; nay, ſeveral actors and actreſſes have complained to me how difficult they found it to invent new ways of dying on the ſtage. It muſt be difficult, for there are ſcenes in which the principal performers muſt remain for half an hour in the laſt agonies, uttering broken words, and under continued convulſions, and it is certainly no eaſy taſk to ſuſtain ſuch a death with propriety. I have often ſeen no leſs than five people at once dying on the German ſtage, one ringing out his knell with his feet, another with his arms, a third with his belly, and a fourth with his head, whilſt the pit ſeemed agonizing with joy, eſpecially if the ſport laſted, and clapped every convulſive movement.

The next in rank on the German ſtage after the madmen and murderers, are drunkards, ſoldiers, and watchmen. Theſe characters correſpond too much with the national humour not to be welcome to the audience. But why the phlegmatic Germans, who are troubled with ſo few violent paſſions, and delight ſo little in deſ-

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perate tranſactions, and tragical events, ſhould take ſuch pleaſure in the dagger and bowl, is not at firſt ſo eaſily accounted for. Let us ſee what is to be ſaid for the audience and the poets.

On the part of the public it may ariſe from ignorance of life and manners. The different claſſes of people do not mingle ſo much in the German towns as they do in France. To every thing which belongs to nobility, or which has the name of nobility, or is in any way attached to the court, the German in middle life can have no acceſs. His knowledge of life and taſte for ſocial pleaſures is much more confined, than that of our people, nor does he, like the inhabitants of a moderately large French town, enter into the innumerable incidents and accidents of common life. This want of intereſt in uſual virtues and vices; this inſenſibility to the little events of ordinary life, oblige the German to look for ſtrong emotions and caricatures to entertain him on the ſtage; whereas the Frenchman is contented with a piece of a much finer wrought plot, and willingly ſees the people he lives and is acquainted with, repreſented on the ſtage. The Saxon dramas are not ſo monſtrous and extravagant as thoſe which are exhibited in the weſtern and ſouthern parts of Germany, becauſe a more enlightened morality, and a freer

intercourſe than there is here, obtains in that part of the country, and conſequently, the picture of a ſcene in common life is more ſtriking than it can be here. In general the majority in this part of the country, conſiſts more of *mob* than in France, and the mob, you know, are notorious for running to ſee an execution or a funeral.

On the part of the poets, the extravagance ariſes from a variety of different cauſes. Moſt of the preſent writers for the German drama are as ignorant as the mob of the ſprings which actuate mankind. Many of them are ſtudents, who are ſtill at ſchool, or juſt come from it, and have choſen play writing for their trade. Theſe perſons, who have never ſeen any thing, ſit in their chimney corner, and enveloped in the fumes of their tobacco, invent whatever happens to come uppermoſt. Their creatures have, conſequently, neither beauty, ſhape, grace, or proportion; but are either men without heads, or barbarians. The writers of this claſs, who aim at nothing but getting their bread by gratifying the public, write tragedy, becauſe it is moſt eaſy, for, independently of the aſſiſtance which may be derived from the marvellous, it is always eaſier to write a good tragedy than an equally good comedy.

Another ſet of writers for the buſkin, ſuffer them-

themſelves to be led away by the taſte of the times. A few years ago one Goethe, of whoſe works you muſt certainly have ſeen tranſlations, brought out a piece, which, although it has very great beauties in it, is, upon the whole, the moſt extravagant that ever was acted. To give you an idea of it, I need not ſay more than the ſubject is, the peaſant war under the Emperor Maximilian, and that the burning of villages, firing towns, &c. &c. are repreſented in it to the life. This piece, which is called Gots of Berlichingen, *with the iron hand*; has, notwithſtanding the great outcry for it, not yet been exhibited on the ſtage, becauſe the infinite changes of the ſcenery, and the incredible heap of machinery, and decoration neceſſary, are too expenſive, and would make the performance too long. Goethe is, undoubtedly, a genius, and I have ſeen other pieces of his, which ſhew that he can draw men in common life, and walking on their legs, as well as thoſe who ſtand on their heads. His Elvin and Elmire is an exquiſite little opera, and there is much merit, though with ſome excreſcencies, in his Clavigo, a tragedy on the ſubject, you know, of Beaumarchais' adventures, in Spain. Goethe, however, has had too many imitators. His Gots of Berlichingen was a kind of magic wand,

which, with a ſingle ſtroke, produced a hundred geniuſes out of nothing. Blind to the real beauties of the original, his imitators have endeavoured to diſtinguiſh themſelves, by copying his extravagancies. As in Gots of Berlichingen, the ſcenery is frequently changed, it is now neceſſary for the poet to carry the ſpectator through every part of the town. Goethe was rather laviſh of executions in his pieces, and now there are innumerable hangmen on the ſtage. Shakeſpear, whom Goethe, probably from whim, or with the view to draw the attention of his countrymen to that great poet, propoſed as his example in his Gots, became inſtantly the idol of the German dramatic writers; but not that Shakeſpear, who, like Raphael, paints man as he is, under every circumſtance, and expreſſes every movement of the muſcles and nerves, and every emotion of the paſſions; but he, who, for want of ſufficient acquaintance with originals, and due education, gives himſelf up to his own wild whims, flies over ages and countries, and worlds, and in the purſuit of his fluctuating objects, does not trouble himſelf about either unity or order. An hiſtorical painter may fail in what is called *la compoſition du groupe*, or harmony of the piece, and ſeveral other things, and yet merit great praiſe for his excellence in the delineation

lineation of ſingle figures; but the ſcholar who copies theſe faults, is truly to be pitied.

Rules, it is true, do not fetter a genius; he either wears them like wreaths of flowers, unconſtrained, eaſily and gracefully; or, when he does not know the value of this ornament, and will come forth in his own wildneſs, makes up for the omiſſion, by the vigour with which he lays hold of his object. But ſuch untractable geniuſes are very ſcarce, and not the proper objects of imitation. England, or rather we may ſay all Europe, has produced but one Shakeſpear during many centuries. The greateſt number of artiſts are doomed to acquire reputation by ſtudy, and rules have been made to regulate that ſtudy.

This ridiculous taſte of deſiring to excel by the neglect of order and rules, by the affectation of extravagance, unnatural events, abominable grimaces, and pitiful disfigurations, has ſince this time infected every department of literature and the arts. We ſee crowds of young pretenders to genius, who, in their different walks, in muſic, painting, and other parts of poetry, think to acquire fame by departing from the eſtabliſhed rules, and giving up ſtudy. But the ancients thought otherwiſe on this ſubject, and the works which they have left behind, will never be

eclipſed by theſe weak and pretended originals. Virgil, it is well known, compared his productions to the unformed cub of a bear, which could only receive its proper ſhape by frequent licking; and it is eaſy to ſee, by the writings of Terence and Plautus, that they were not finiſhed over a pipe of tobacco. You know that Shakeſpear has now, for ſome time paſt, had his partizans amongſt us; but his extravagance will not ſo eaſily be adopted for a rule; and though Arnaud has opened the way for monſters on our ſtage, as yet they appear too ſeldom for there to be any danger of our ſeeing our old friends and acquaintance in common life baniſhed by them.

This corrupt taſte has produced a wonderful revolution in the German language. When we read the writings of Geſner, Wieland, and Leſſing, we perceive that it was improving under their culture, and would gradually have received the poliſh and perfection which are indiſpenſably neceſſary to make it claſſical. But theſe new geniuſes have not been ſatisfied with the mutilation of ſingle words, but have contracted whole periods in the ſame manner. They have aboliſhed all conjunctions and connectives of every kind. In many of the more modern works, the ſentences are all ſeparate, like the ſeparate *effata*

fata of an oracle; nor are any ſtops or diviſions admitted, except full ſtops, and ! ! ! and ? ? ? and —.— —. Beſides every writer made a point of inventing new words to expreſs his new ideas; in ſhort, you would burſt with laughter if you were to read ſome literary productions of Germany, which paſs with many for maſterpieces.

When I ſay this, I do not mean to be underſtood to affirm, that there are no perſons of better taſte in Germany than thoſe I have been deſcribing; but they are over-talked, becauſe they are the ſmalleſt number, and attempt only to convince by moderation and reaſon, whilſt the others ſtun them with noiſe. It was but yeſterday that I ſaw a new piece, entitled 'Quick 'before any one knows it,' which was remarkable for the ſimplicity of the fable, the truth of the characters, and the chaſteneſs of its dialogue; and I have ſeen other comedies and tragedies equally good; but the pit muſt have madneſs, and murder, and trumpets, and thunder, and the actors only interpoſe ſuch a piece, in order to have time to recover their breath, and recruit for freſh raptures of inſanity.

This is the ſixth company of comedians I have ſeen in Germany. You will wonder perhaps at ſo many in ſo ſmall a tract; but you

muſt know, that for ſeveral years paſt, innumerable ſmall ſtrolling companies patrole Germany as they do in Spain and England: they erect their ſtages in the barns, or in the cow houſes of villages, or market towns, and borrow the mayor's night gown and ſlippers, to play Julius Cæſar in his toga, or, which is the ſame thing to them, to repreſent a ſultan. I ſaw four of theſe companies in Suabia. They are made up chiefly of vagabond ſtudents, and idle, diſſolute mechanics, who are alternately actors and ſoldiers, ſometimes in the work-houſe, and ſometimes in the hoſpital. The company which is here at preſent is of a ſuperior kind. All the members of it are in the pay of the court, which receives the entrance money. They are almoſt all elegant, well-bred people, and went far beyond my expectations in their performance. I do not know above three or four theatres in France which are preferable to this. The actors enjoy the ſociety of the firſt people of the court, and have opportunities of poliſhing their manners. How ridiculous it is, that the preſent etiquette of Germany ſhould refuſe this advantage to the poet, who has as much to gain by it as the comedian.

This company is under the direction of Mr. Marchand, of whom I had heard a great deal at

Straſburg,

Straſburg, where he played for ſeveral years before he had any regular engagement. He is now at Manheim, where he is engaged at a large ſalary as manager of the court theatre. I was extremely happy in a perſonal acquaintance with him. He is a man of the world, very lively and intelligent, and has contrived to make a capital of 4000l. by his performances in the cities on the Upper Rhine. This gentleman told me how much pains he had taken, when he came to the management, to ſet his company on a different footing from moſt of the German companies of comedians at that time. He employed only regular bred men, paid them with great punctuality, and as regularly diſcharged them, when they were guilty of any irregularity. By theſe means, he and his company obtained the reſpect of the public, who at firſt conſidered players as diſreputable perſons. For a long time Mr. Marchand guided the public taſte. He exhibited only tranſlations of the moſt ſelect French and Engliſh pieces, and the very beſt originals of his own country, with a mixture of ſome of our operas, which, excepting at Paris, were no better performed than by his company.—Suddenly, however, the rage for tragedy and monſters prevailed; after long ſtruggling againſt it, he was at laſt obliged to yield

yield to the ſtream. As the lungs of his actors were only accuſtomed to the ordinary tones of ſpeech, and could not go through the ſtrong convulſive movements of the new ſchool, he was obliged, on his arrival at Munich, to procure a new ſet accuſtomed to howlings, laying dead, &c. &c. It is probable, however, that the preſent rage is only a temporary paroxyſm of the ſtage fever, which will in time give way to better taſte and ſounder judgment. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

Munich.

YOU require too much of me; though I very well conceive that you muſt naturally wiſh to have a particular knowledge of this court and country, for, independently of our former connection with Bavaria, the Palatinate is the moſt powerful ſtate in Germany, next to Auſtria and Brandenburg, or at leaſt from its internal reſources ſhould be ſo; and beſides, the geographical ſituation of the country will always make its maſter of conſequence to whatever ſide he joins, in caſe of a rupture between France and the emperor. I will therefore

fore do what I can; but I ſhall ſtay here too ſhort a time to give you entire ſatisfaction. The deſcription of Munich by Profeſſor Weſtenrieden, though not void of faults, is one of the few works of this kind calculated to give ſatisfaction. Every traveller ſhould have it. The beſt hiſtory of Munich is that by Mr. Bergman, in one volume folio. There is alſo an Italian tract on the ſubject, by Bianconi; but it does not contain much.

This court is at preſent ſo enveloped in a thick and motley-coloured crowd of miniſters, counſellors, intendants, and commanders, that one cannot well get at, nor even ſee it; nor have I yet been able to make any particular acquaintance with our miniſter here, who undoubtedly knows how things are. I ſhall therefore deſcribe the court to you, partly from the information of ſome of its dependants, and partly from a few of my own obſervations, which have hitherto been made from a diſtance.—As far as the court is connected with the country, its character is to be judged of by the laws and regulations iſſued from time to time.

The elector is one of the beſt tempered men in the world. He is of a mild, ſocial, lively diſpoſition, not at all diſtruſtful or ſuſpicious, and ſo little inclined to ſeverity, that, upon a reformation

reformation having become neceſſary in his court at Munich, he appointed the count Goldſtein, his prime miniſter at Duſſeldorf, to carry on the requiſite meaſures with vigour, and went himſelf to Italy, that the reform might not be retarded by the prayers and ſolicitations of thoſe diſcharged from office, which he was diffident of being able to withſtand. A diſagreeable marriage, contracted in his youth, led him into irregularities. The children he has had in conſequence, he has raiſed, at a very heavy expence, to be counts of the empire. In his more advanced life, the gentleneſs of his ſpirit, and the recollection of his former errors, have opened the way for piety into his heart; which of itſelf would be a bleſſing to the country, were it not, that it gives the prieſthood more influence than it ſhould have.

As to his learning, he is reported able in ſeveral ſciences, particularly in mathematics, and ſpeaks French, Italian, and Engliſh. But the fine arts are his *forte*, and he has ſacrificed liberally to them. His orcheſtra and opera are the beſt in Europe, next to thoſe of Naples and Turin; and his magnificent collection of prints, antiques, and other things, are perpetual monuments of his friendſhip for the muſes.

I have heard that an Engliſh gentleman at Manheim

Manheim paid him the compliment to ſay, that 'He deſerved to be a private gentleman.' Certainly this is the moſt favourable thing which can be ſaid of this prince, who is entirely deſtitute of that ſtrength of character and reſolution, which are indiſpenſably neceſſary to govern ſo ferocious a people as the Bavarians. As he is wanting in knowledge of mankind, he thinks favourably of all thoſe who are about him, and this ſubjects him to conſtant deception.

When I take my eyes off this great perſonage himſelf, to look round for the perſon of next conſequence, and who has the greateſt influence, I feel myſelf in the dark, and know not whom to ſtumble on. There is a lord high ſteward, a lord treaſurer, a chancellor, a parcel of privy counſellors, a father confeſſor, and ſome women, who have divided the court intereſt amongſt them, and mutually guarantied each other's ſhare. He who could ſee things as they are, and would trace every intrigue back to its origin, would find the firſt movers of the machine in a monk's cowl or a petticoat.

Of the miſchiefs which may be done by prieſts and women, when they gain the aſcendency, we have had ſufficient examples in our own court. But theſe fell far ſhort of the evils which are occaſioned by them here, notwithſtanding

that the ſpoils of whole provinces have been expended on the capricious deſires of a miſtreſs; a caſe which happened in France. The reaſon of this difference is, that we are not without firm patriots, who oppoſe adminiſtrations, and often reform what others have corrupted. But it is loſt labour to look for a patriot at this court; or if you find one, his patriotiſm confines itſelf to ſilent unavailing murmurs.

Of the general maxims, or leading principles of the people of this court, I can ſay but little to you. Immediate ſelf-intereſt is apparently the purſuit of every one; or if they do profeſs any principles, they are certainly the moſt pliant and verſatile in the world. Indeed if we may judge by the way of thinking of inferiors, of the ſentiments of their ſuperiors, many of the principal people of this court have adopted the moſt execrable theory in politics: for inſtance, that religion ſerves only for the purpoſe of keeping the crowd of mankind ſlaves to them;—that a courtier muſt put on the externals of religion, but leave the practice to the vulgar;—that men are by nature wicked, ſeditious, turbulent, and only to be governed by being kept in perpetual ſervitude, and not permitted to uſe their faculties;—finally, that too much knowledge is dangerous, and that the great hold their rights over the

the people immediately from God, are no ways accountable for their conduct, nor under any obligation to their ſubjects. Wretched and miſerable ſentiments! originally propagated by thoſe who do not underſtand Machiavel's Prince, or who do not conſider what he has advanced on the other ſide of the queſtion in his diſcourſes on Livy.

You will ſee by this ſketch, that this court is not at all more advanced than thoſe of Spain and Portugal. The prince, though ſincerely inclined, can do nothing for the real welfare of his people; for the channels by which he ſhould communicate with them are ſtopt up. Under the laſt government the miniſter ſold offices publicly, and now they are given away at the gaming table. There are numerous examples of people who have not been able to procure promotion, otherwiſe than by loſing certain ſums of money to certain ladies. Every thing here is venal. A few years ago, a certain miniſter of this court would have ſold half Bavaria to the houſe of Auſtria, if the Pruſſian and Ruſſian courts, and the miniſter of the court of Deux-Ponts, had not prevented the purchaſe. In every project propoſed, a ſmall part only is intended for any good purpoſe; the greater part has the intereſt of the projector in view.

How indeed is it poſſible that a court, in which the higheſt places are to be obtained by high birth merely, or family connections, by money, or the intereſt of women and prieſts, ſhould have thoſe fundamental rules, or have that political conſtitution, which is neceſſary for the people's happineſs? The prince's love of ſhew, is as remarkable as his goodneſs of heart; and both together induce him to think, that he is obliged to ſupport an idle and uſeleſs nobility. Hence whilſt other governments are uſing every effort to cut off and reduce the exorbitant privileges of this claſs of men, and to rate them only according to their real ſervices, this court conſiders it as its duty to pamper and feed them, in holy idleneſs, like the frogs of Latona, or the geeſe of the capitol, at the expence of the ſtate. Would you think that there is, at this very time, a project on foot for inſtituting a new province of knights of Malta in Bavaria, which will coſt millions? It is not merit, but nobility only which will have any claim to this rich foundation. Whether the Chriſtian purpoſe of perſecuting the Saracens, or rather a particular predilection for this order has engaged the elector in it, I cannot tell; but thus far is certain, that the ſums ſpent by the knights during their noviciate at ſea, (or rather at the gaming table and revelling

revelling in the iſland of Malta) could be ſpent at home more profitably for their native country. But the leſs advantage the ſtate has to expect from this new inſtitution, the more certainly it will be concluded on. The only thing that can ſtop it, is the conſideration of where the funds for this purpoſe are to be had. In the mean time, I could mention to you the names of a hundred placemen to be found in the Court Calendar, whoſe duty I defy any man on earth to find out. Be it ſufficient as a ſpecimen to tell you, that this court keeps a great admiral for two or three ſhips on the Rhine.

Every thing here is calculated for ſhew. The army conſiſts of about thirty regiments, in which, notwithſtanding the preſent deſign of completing them, there are not eighteen thouſand men. One fourth part at leaſt are officers, amongſt whom there are ſeveral general field marſhals. The titles and embroidered clothes of the inhabitants by no means ſecure a ſtranger from their begging from him. Yeſterday I went to ſee the handſome Jeſuit church, where, that I might not appear an idle ſpectator, I knelt down by ſome people in a pew; immediately a man, whom I had imagined from his dreſs to be a perſon of conſequence, moved nearer to me, preſented me with a pinch of ſnuff, and after ſome

remarks on the beauty of the building, entered circumſtantially into a complaint of his neceſſities, and requeſted charity of me. The ſame thing had already happened to me in another church, where the beggar was a very well dreſſed woman. The police, which is ſo attentive to light, and keep the town clean, is in a manner obliged to permit thieves and pick-pockets to beg at the gates of the town, as it knows not how to find them employment or bread.

This deficiency in true and fixed principles of government, this love of ſhew, this confuſion of employment, from the too great number of uſeleſs, unpatriotic, idle dependants, occaſion hourly contradictions in the internal politics. Some little time ſince the miniſter, who had perhaps read Beccaria when he was half aſleep, or had heard that capital puniſhments and the torture were aboliſhed in Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Auſtria, affected the ſame ſpirit of philoſophy. However, it ſoon appeared to be but an affectation, for the thieves, murderers, and highwaymen, became ſoon ſo numerous, that an edict quickly appeared, which expoſed, in the moſt glaring manner, the total incapacity of the court. This edict ſtated that, 'however mild the prince was in his diſpoſition, and 'however firmly reſolved he had been to imitate

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'the example of other powers, by introducing 'humane laws, he found himſelf notwithſtand-'ing conſtrained to ſuffer the old puniſhments 'of hanging, breaking on the wheel, impal-'ing, burning, and torturing to go forward as 'preſcribed by the Caroline code.' Strange confeſſion! But why has not the mildneſs of the penal laws in Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Auſtria, been attended with the ſame conſequences which overſet the new ſyſtem in Bavaria? From no other reaſon than becauſe theſe powers have a firm, well concerted, and connected ſyſtem of government, which this court only copied in appearance, whilſt her real conduct and adminiſtration was totally diſſonant to this philoſophy. There were no pains taken to correct the people of their inclination to theft and robbery, by good education, improved morals, and encouragement to induſtry. But ſurely the ſix millions, which are to be thrown away on the new Malta buſineſs, might have been much better employed in the erection of ſchools, and houſes of induſtry, for the purpoſe of ſaving and reforming ſo many thouſands of men.—And are not the ſumptuous opera houſes, the expenſive collections of curioſities, the palaces, gardens, and innumerable ſwarms of glittering ſervants, a reproach to the court? and do they not

ſhew that the property of the ſubjects is in bad hands?

The eccleſiaſtics of this place, are much divided at preſent. The ſame parties obtain here, which, by their heat and virulence to each other, drew ſo much notice in France. The ex-jeſuits, with their adherents, are ſupported by the elector's confeſſor, who is one of their number; and at the head of the Benedictines are ſome very rich prelates, who make their way into the cabinet with gold, by means of mercenary ſervants, and ladies of the court. Some of them, if I am not miſtaken, are members of the eſtates of the country; but this gives them but little weight with a prince ſo jealous of his authority, that he has hitherto delayed taking the preſcribed oaths in the aſſemblies of the ſtates. However, it is believed that they will get the better of the jeſuits, as gold is all powerful here. What the country will gain or loſe by this I know not. The Benedictines are like other monks, though not ſo opinionated and implacable as their enemies the jeſuits.

The intolerance of the jeſuits, who have now for a long time governed the elector, has been very prejudicial to the Palatinate. The proteſtants make at leaſt one half of the inhabitants of this country, and have many treaties of peace,

peace, and public ſtipulations granted for their ſecurity. In every ſtate they make the beſt of citizens; as their religious doctrines are conſonant to the ſoundeſt politics, and their prieſthood is never at variance with the civil power. Notwithſtanding this, they are expoſed to every ſpecies of oppreſſion, and the court ſeems to make a merit of rooting out this moſt valuable part of its ſubjects; whom, being blinded by the falſe arguments of the prieſts, it conſiders as weeds in the ſtate garden. The hypocrites diſguiſe their perſecuting ſpirit under the appearance of political zeal, and endeavour to perſuade the prince, that unity of religion is as eſſential to every ſtate, as unity of ſovereignty. In a proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of a ſmall, but very elegant poem againſt intolerance, I met with theſe words: 'The author is deſirous 'of introducing into catholic Bavaria, a mix-'ture of religions very dangerous to the ſtate.' But let the court contemplate, or rather, I ſhould ſay, would it had eyes to ſee how many ſalutary conſequences this mixture of religions has had in Holland, and how great the difference is between *catholic* Bavaria, and the country in which there are about thirty different ſects.

It was the ſame affectation of political zeal, that made the jeſuits in France uſe ſuch

ſtrong efforts to get the edict of Nantes revoked. They accuſtomed Lewis XIV. from his childhood to conſider the reformed church as the ſecret enemy of the crown and the ſtate, and falſely charged on its peaceable ſubjects that ſpirit of perſecution, which they themſelves alone poſſeſſed. Our court has now diſcovered, that the jeſuits were greater enemies to France than the reformed church; but at a time when we ſo loudly proclaim our errors, when the reformed church hopes to recover its loſt freedom of religion, when a Necker in office proves to all mankind how much jeſuitiſm is abhorred; here they continue to exclude Proteſtants from even the loweſt offices in the ſtate, and uſe every artifice to oppreſs them.

Nature always revenges her injured rights. The perſecuted heretics leave the Palatinate to cultivate the North American deſert, and the greater part of Bavaria remains a deſert.

LETTER X.

Munich.

A Few days ago I had a very long and agreeable converſation with one of the few enlightened patriots, who here mourn in ſecret the fate of their country. We happened to ſpeak of the emperor Charles VII. and the well known Bavarian war. I was obliged to allow that our miniſters of that time had behaved very ſhamefully to this court, and that the war would have turned out greatly to the advantage of Bavaria, if we had dealt more honourably by it. My friend was loud in his lamentations, and repeatedly mentioned how our army had ſtood by and ſeen the Bavarian troops attacked without ſtirring a man to their aſſiſtance; how the ſubſidy money was not paid; how our miniſter, by dint of great promiſes, which he never performed, prolonged the war to the ruin of Bavaria; with what violence our commanders had behaved on Bavarian ground, and ſo forth. All this I was forced to acknowledge; for I recollected what the Pruſſian miniſter at this court had ſaid to ours, when the latter would have exculpated himſelf, by ſaying that his maſters were fools. 'Das

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'ſind Keine Dumm Kopfe; das ſind ſhurken (ce 'ne ſont pas des ſots; ce ſont des Coquins.)' With this converſation on my mind, I could make no reply direct; but I had likewiſe heard from ſome of our old officers, who had ſerved in the war, and were intimately acquainted with the ſituation of this court, that its miniſters were ſtill greater fools and rogues than ours; that the emperor himſelf was more taken up with his roſary, his hounds, his prieſts, and miſtreſſes, (by whom he left about forty children) than with the concerns of the country; that his ſervants were more ſtudious to gratify his humours and paſſions, than to promote the good of the nation. A ſtriking evidence of this was given by a certain count, who procured his own niece for him, and by the influence he thus gained over him, fruſtrated every good counſel of the true friends to the emperor. I knew alſo that our miniſter could not find a ſingle man here ſufficiently acquainted with public buſineſs to be employed in negotiations: that the ſubſidy money, which at firſt was regularly ſent from Verſailles, was expended in uſeleſs purpoſes: that the ſtipulated for number of Bavarian troops was not completed, and that half the money was pocketed by the officers and pay maſters. I knew that the emperor, notwithſtanding his em-

barraſſed

barraſſed circumſtances, could not bring himſelf to demand contributions from the rich cloyſters, much leſs by cruſhing them, and taking poſſeſſion of ſome neighbouring church principalities, to recruit the ſtate of his finances, and give more ſecurity to his tottering throne.*

Upon this ſtatement of the caſe, my good friend was obliged to allow, that if things did not turn out as they ought to have done, the greateſt part of the blame was owing to Bavaria.

Since that time the court has been under the influence of a dæmon with a capuchin, which has perplexed its politics, robbed its treaſury, and put fools and traitors at the head of its affairs. Whilſt ſome of the leſſer potentates of Germany have been able to raiſe themſelves to a moſt reſpectable greatneſs, notwithſtanding the almoſt inſuperable obſtacles they have had to ſtruggle with, this old and mighty houſe has been forced to behold the wide boundaries of its poſſeſſions inceſſantly contracting, notwithſtanding the various favourable circumſtances that have concurred to elevate it, if it would have liſtened to the dictates of ſound policy. When the elector palatine was choſen king of Bohemia, who would have thought that his own couſin, the duke of

* In the laſt of which he certainly acted juſtly.

Bavaria,

Bavaria, would have been the perſon to diſtreſs him moſt, and to increaſe the already dangerous power of Auſtria, at the expence of his own family? Had it not been for this, Bohemia would have been now under the ſame government as Bavaria and the Palatinate, and the preſent elector, a great king.—At the peace of Weſtphalia, the members of the proteſtant league indemnified themſelves for the heavy expences of the Swediſh war, by putting themſelves in poſſeſſion of the neighbouring church principalities; but Bavaria, which had fought to the laſt drop of blood for the Pope and the houſe of Auſtria, thought itſelf abundantly paid with the electorate and the Upper Palatinate (which it could only obtain by failure of another branch of its own family), and let ſlip the beſt opportunity of poſſeſſing itſelf of the biſhoprick of Saltſburg, with which it has ſo much wrangling at preſent, the biſhoprick of Frieſingen, which lies in its very boſom, and many other adjacent biſhopricks; ſo conſtantly has it ſtrove againſt its own proper intereſts, from the impreſſion of falſe religious tenets. *

Theſe wars, which we may ſay it has waged

* Surely not falſe religious opinions, if theſe countries were only to be obtained by fraud and violence.

againſt

againſt itſelf; that on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; and laſtly, that of the emperor Charles VII. have given great wounds to this houſe, wounds which, however, it might have cured, had not religious prejudices and caprice rendered it blind, and inſenſible to its own internal ſituation. But now they rankle, and preſent an obſerver with the diſguſting ſpectacle of a deeply conſumptive body politic.

It was thought that the laſt elector had paid the greateſt part of the national debts; but on the acceſſion of the preſent prince, theſe expectations were found very erroneous. Some indeed of the oldeſt incumbrances have been paid off; but on the other hand, ſeveral new loans have been made. This elector was, indeed, quite unequal to the management of his own finances, which he left entirely to the diſpoſal of his ſervants, contenting himſelf if his expenſive hunting matches could be defrayed; and the preſent court ſeems to be as little inclined to limit the enormous expence of the opera-houſe, for the ſake of paying its debts, which may now amount to near twenty-five millions of florins, or 250,000 l.

As I ſtrolled through the country, I ſhuddered at the ſight of the ravages which war had made. There is no town of any importance in

all Bavaria, except the capital. You would never imagine what pitiful little holes, Landſberg, Waſſerbing, Landſhut, and many other places, which make a great figure on the map, are. To all appearance neither Ingoldſtadt, nor Straubingen, nor any of the greater towns, except Munich, contain above four thouſand ſouls. Nor are there more than forty of theſe towns; whereas Saxony, which is no larger than Bavaria, contains above two hundred and twenty, if the accounts in print are to be depended upon. But indeed the want of population in theſe parts is very remarkable, as well as the remains of thoſe vices which armies generally leave behind them. Excepting the brewer, baker, and innkeeper, you may ſeek in vain for a rich tradeſman. There is not a veſtige of induſtry either in town or country, but every body ſeems to conſider idleneſs and beggary as the happieſt ſtate of man.

As what Bavaria loſt at the peace of Teſchner, was nearly made up by the junction of the principalities of Neuburg and Sulzbach; we may reckon with the Palatinate, it contains as much ground as Suabia; that is, about ſeven hundred and twenty-nine ſquare miles. Now, in the Suabian circle, there are at leaſt one million ſix hundred thouſand people; whereas

whereas Bavaria, by a late calculation, has not above one million one hundred and eighty thouſand.

The ſouthern part of this country is very mountainous, but not ſo unfit for agriculture as geographers commonly report it to be. In many of the vallies of theſe vaſt mountains, the ſoil is excellent; and in one corner of them I found an ingenious and induſtrious huſband-man, the only character of the kind I could meet with in the whole country, who gathered what he had ſown ſixteen fold. The part which extends from the capital to the Danube and the Inn, is the beſt arable land throughout the country, and is interſected by ſeveral well wooded hills. The Upper Palatinate, toge-ther with that part of the dukedom of Bavaria which lies beyond the Danube, conſiſts almoſt intirely of mountains. Theſe riſe gradually from the Danube to Fichtelberg and the Bo-hemian ridge of mountains, but are fit for every kind of agriculture.

A conſiderable part of this, by nature ſo highly favoured country, has lain waſte ſince the wars. There are many large tracts which the inhabi-tants call moſſes, but which are not ſo fenny and ſpungy as the turf and moor grounds of Holland and other countries. In many of them

you may perceive traces of the old furrows, and there are proofs ſufficient that they have been cultivated, and might be eaſily cultivated again. Another part of Bavaria is ſtill covered with a luxuriant dark wood, and a third part lies conſtantly fallow without neceſſity. Upon the whole, it is more than probable, that hardly one half of the country is cultivated as it ought to be.

The country people, or farmers, are divided into four claſſes; into whole, half, and quarter farmers, and into thoſe called *hauſler*. The whole farmers plough with eight horſes, and are termed *einſiedler*; that is, hermits, becauſe their farm-houſes are at a diſtance from any village. Many of theſe farm-houſes command a territory of three miles in length and breadth, and the owners employ from twelve to fifteen horſes in their tillage (reckoning two horſes to every plough, which in ſome places is certainly too much, but in others alſo it is too little). Of ſuch farmers there may be about forty thouſand. A half farmer ploughs with four, and a quarter farmer with two horſes. The *hauſler* are day labourers to the reſt, and till their bits of property with cattle belonging to others.

We are not to infer the extent of every farmer's poſſeſſions from the number of his ploughs.

ploughs. The beſt fields lie fallow four, ſix, or more years, juſt as the eſtabliſhed cuſtom may be, or the convenience or caprice of the owners may direct. As the farmers have no idea of meadow land, or of *ſtall food* for cattle, they excuſe themſelves for this ſlight kind of huſbandry, by pleading the want of manure.—The worthy friend with whom I had ſo many diſputes about the Bavarian war, defended the practice of his countrymen with great warmth. He contended, that the agriculture could not poſſibly be better than it was, becauſe the internal conſumption and the price of grain were too low, an inconvenience, ſays he, which is remedileſs; for exportation is impoſſible, on account of the want of navigable rivers; nor is it poſſible that the internal conſumption ſhould well be increaſed by manufactures, becauſe the rivers of Bavaria all running to Auſtria, it will be impoſſible for us to vie with that country, let us do what we will. This ſurely was mere ſophiſtical reaſoning, uſed to diſguiſe the inactivity and indolence of his countrymen. It would be hard indeed, if navigable rivers were indiſpenſably neceſſary for the increaſe of manufactures. The greateſt part of the Swiſs manufactures are carried on the axle-tree; for what is exported by the Rhine, bears no compariſon with many commodities which

are exported over land to Francfort, Leipſig, &c. and to all the north, and to France and Italy. But Bavaria ſhould not yet think of any foreign commerce, as the rules of prudence require that the miniſters ſhould ſee what is to be ſaved, before they conſider what is to be gained. Whatever is ſaved is gain, and the ſecureſt gain. How much gold does this country annually ſend away for cloth, ſtuffs, linen, flax, and rape ſeed, oil, tobacco, leather, and a variety of other articles, the materials for furniſhing of which, it has within itſelf.

But both court and people appear to be ſtruck blind to their true intereſt. You know that for many years paſt, there has been a great outcry through Germany, and very properly, for population, manufactures, and induſtry. It reached the ears of this court, who immediately, as was natural, began to imitate what was going forward. But without conſulting nature for her advice, without inquiring what productions of art would prove of moſt general uſe, and ſerve the moſt to keep the gold in the country, it thought only of thoſe which would make the greateſt ſhew, and ſtood high in the liſt of luxuries. Would you think it? in this unſpeakable want of many neceſſaries, they applied themſelves to manufacture porcelain, which could only

only be managed by artificial means, of which the moſt honourable was a ſmall lottery. They eſtabliſhed manufactures of tapeſtry, rich ſtuffs, and ſilks. They ſaved, indeed, by this manœuvre, the money exported to purchaſe the prieſts robes and ladies Gala dreſſes, but the citizens and peaſants were obliged to wear foreign clothes.

One need only obſerve what goes forward here at the cuſtom houſe, to be convinced that the principles of taxation are not underſtood as they ſhould be. When Auſtria determined to ſettle the cuſtom-houſe duties according to the rules of prudent policy, the officers of finance here ſaw nothing in it but a mode of increaſing the revenue; they therefore imitated the Auſtrian ſyſtem, but did not conſider that taxes on the importation of foreign wares are intended to operate as penalties, the reduction of which muſt be as agreeable to a wiſe government, as the diminution of the revenue of fines levied by courts of juſtice. The Auſtrian duties are connected with a great plan. They are intended to reduce the import of foreign wares, as much as poſſible, by increaſing internal induſtry, and to leſſen the conſumption of ſuch foreign luxuries as are needleſs, by increaſing the price of them. But inſtead of uſing the

cuſtom-houſe books as Auſtria does, as indications of what manufactures are to be encouraged, that the money paid for them may be kept in the country, the financiers of Bavaria conſider them as ſo many ſources of poſitive revenue, which are rather to be increaſed than leſſened.

I ſhould not have troubled you ſo long with theſe particulars of the ſtate œconomy, if I had not thought myſelf in ſome meaſure obliged to ſhew you in detail, that here they know nothing of the matter.

LETTER XI.

Munich.

A Picture of the Bavarian character and manners by Hogarth, would be extremely intereſting. Great ſingularity of character is often to be met with in England; but what Bavaria offers exceeds any thing to be ſeen elſewhere. You know I am no painter; ſo if I endeavour to point out to you the peculiarities of Bavaria in the abſtract, my deſcriptions will have none of that life and expreſſion which diſtinguiſh

Hogarth's groups, or Shakeſpeare's ſcenes. However I will do my endeavour.

To proceed methodically—for you cannot conceive what a method ſticks to me in all I do, ſince I have breathed the air of Germany—I ſhall anatomize the body of the Bavarian, before I proceed to the analyſis of his mind. In general the Bavarian is ſtout bodied, muſcular, and fleſhy. There are, however, ſome ſlender people among them who may paſs for handſome. They are ſomething leſs roſy cheeked than the Suabians, a difference probably ariſing from their drinking beer inſtead of wine, as the others do.

The characteriſtic of a Bavarian is a very round head, a little peaked chin, a large belly, and a pale complexion. Many of them look like caricatures of man. They have great fat bellies, ſhort clubbed feet, narrow ſhoulders, a thick round head, and ſhort necks. They are heavy and aukward in their carriage, and their ſmall eyes betray a great deal of roguery. The women, in general, are ſome of the moſt beautiful creatures in the world. They are indeed ſomething groſs, but their ſkin ſurpaſſes all the carnation ever uſed by painters; the pureſt lily white is ſoftly tinged with purple, as if by the hands of the graces. I ſaw ſome peaſant girls

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with ſuch clear complexions, that they appeared quite tranſparent. They are well ſhaped, and more lively and graceful in their geſtures than the men.

In the capital they dreſs in the French ſtyle, or at leaſt imagine that they do ſo, for the men are ſtill too fond of gold and mixed colours. The country people dreſs without any taſte at all. The chief ornament of the men is a long, broad waiſtcoat, ſtrangely embroidered, from which their breeches hang very low and looſe, probably to give free play to their bellies, which is the chief part of a Bavarian. The women diſguiſe themſelves with a ſort of ſtays in the ſhape of a funnel, which cover the breaſt and ſhoulders, ſo as to hide the whole neck. This ſtiff dreſs is covered with ſilver beads, and thickly overlaid with ſilver chains. In many places the houſewife has a bunch of keys, and a knife appendant to a girdle, which reach almoſt to the ground.

As to the characters and manners of the Bavarians, the inhabitants of the capital naturally differ very much from the country people. The character of the inhabitants of Munich is a riddle to me, and would remain ſo if I were to ſtay here many years. I believe, indeed, that it may be truly ſaid, that they have no character at all. Their manners are corrupt, as muſt be the

the caſe with forty thouſand men who depend intirely on a court, and for the moſt part go idle at its expence.

Amongſt the great nobles you meet here, as well as elſewhere, with very well bred, and polite people; but the people, taking the word in its full extent, are in an eminent degree deſtitute of any ſenſe of honour, without education, without any activity for the ſtate, attachment to the country, or generous feeling whatever. The fortunes of this place are from 1500 to three or four thouſand pounds *per annum*, but the poſſeſſors know no other uſe of their money, than to ſpend it in ſenſual gratifications. Many good houſes have been intirely ruined by play. The faſhionable game at the court was formerly called *zwicken*, or *pinch*; but ſince Hombeſch, the miniſter of finance, has pinched their ſalaries ſo confoundedly, they call it *Hombeſch*. Many of the court ladies know of no other employment than playing with their parrots, their dogs, or their cats. One of the principal ladies whom I am acquainted with, keeps a hall full of cats, and two or three maids to attend them: ſhe converſes half the day long with them, often ſerves them herſelf with coffee and ſugar, and dreſſes them according to her fancy differently every day.

The ſmall nobles, and ſervants of the court, have a pitiable paſſion for titles. Before the preſent elector came here, the place ſwarmed with excellencies, honourable, and right honourable. As this was not the cuſtom at Manheim, an order was made to aſcertain the different ranks of nobleſſe. All thoſe whom it deprived of excellency, honourable, &c. and particularly, (would you think it?) the women, were ſunk in deſpair, and for the firſt time, complaints were made of tyranny, of which none before ſeemed to have any conception.

The remainder of the inhabitants are immerſed in the moſt ſcandalous debauch. Every night the ſtreets re-echo with the noiſe of drunkards iſſuing from the numerous taverns where they have been revelling and dancing. Whoever is at all noble here muſt keep his miſtreſs; the reſt indulge in promiſcuous love. In this reſpect things are not much better in the country.

Bavaria, indeed, well deſerves the character given it by an officer of Gaſcony, of being the greateſt brothel in the world.

The country people are extremely dirty. A few miles diſtant from the capital, one would hardly take the hovels of the peaſants for the habitations of men. Many of them have large puddles before the doors of their houſes, and

and are obliged to ſtep over planks into them. The thatched roofs of the country people, in many parts of France, have a much better appearance, than the miſerable huts of the Bavarian peaſants; the roofs of which are covered with ſtones, in order that the ſlates may not be carried away by the wind. Mean as this looks, cheap as nails are in the country, and often as half the roofs are torn away by ſtrong winds, yet cannot the rich farmer be perſuaded to nail his ſhingles properly together. In ſhort, from the court to the ſmalleſt cottage, indolence is the moſt predominant part of the character of the Bavarian.

This great indolence is contraſted, in an extraordinary manner, with a ſtill higher degree of bigotry.—I happened to ſtroll into a dark, black country beer-houſe, filled with clouds of tobacco, and on entering was almoſt ſtunned with the noiſe of the drinkers. By degrees, however, my eyes penetrated through the thick vapours, when I diſcovered the prieſt of the place in the middle of fifteen or twenty drunken fellows. His black coat was juſt as much bedaubed as the frocks of his flock, and like the reſt of them, he had cards in his left hand, which he ſtruck ſo forcibly on the dirty table, that the whole chamber trembled. At firſt, I was

ſhocked

ſhocked at the violent abuſe they gave each other, and thought they were quarrelling; but ſoon found that all the blackguard appellations which ſhocked me, were only modes of friendly ſalutation among them. Every one of them had now drank his ſix or eight pots of beer, and they deſired the landlord to give each a dram of brandy, by way, they ſaid, of locking the ſtomach. But now their good humour departed, and I preſently ſaw, in all their looks and geſtures, the moſt ſerious preparation for a fray. This at length broke out. At firſt the prieſt took vain pains to ſuppreſs it. He ſwore and roared at laſt as much as the reſt. Now one ſeized a pot and threw it at his adverſary's head, another clenched his fiſt, a third pulled the legs from a ſtool to knock his enemy on the head. Every thing, in ſhort, ſeemed to ſpeak blood and death; when on the ringing of the bell for evening prayer, 'Ave Maria, ye ——!' cried the prieſt, and down dropped their arms, they pulled off their bonnets, folded their hands, and repeated their Ave Marias. It put me in mind of the adventure in Don Quixote, where peace is ſuddenly reſtored in the great fray, on account of the helmet of Mambrino, and the aſs's collar, by the recollection of what paſſed in the Agramantine camp. As ſoon, however, as prayers were

were over, they were all ſeized again with their former fury, which was the more violent from the momentary interruption it had met with. Pots and glaſſes began to fly. I obſerved the curate creep under the table for ſecurity, and I withdrew into the landlord's bedchamber.

The ſame ſcenes occur in the inland towns among the citizens, officers, clergymen, and ſtudents. They all ſalute each other with abuſive language; all vie in hard drinking; and cloſe to every church, which are ſcarce leſs than 28,700, there is regularly a beer-houſe and a brothel. A ſtudent at the univerſity of Ingoldſtadt muſt carry a thick cudgel, and wear a neat cut hat; he muſt be able to drink from eight to ten quarts of beer at a ſitting, and be always ready to fight, right or wrong, with the officers of the garriſon that is quartered there. You may ſuppoſe that this does not tend to raiſe the reputation of the univerſity, which is, indeed, but thinly viſited, though the profeſſors are able men, and do their duty, although a proclamation came out ſome years ſince, to forbid any Bavarian from ſtudying out of the country.

No pen can deſcribe the ridiculous mixtures of debauchery and devotion which every day happen. The moſt notorious is that which took

place

place in the church of St. Mary, Oettingen, a few years ſince, when a prieſt actually deflowered a girl whom he had long purſued, and could only make a prize of there before the altar of the Virgin.

The country people join to their indolence and devotion a certain ferocity of temper, which often gives riſe to bloody ſcenes. When they mean to praiſe a church holiday, or ſome public feſtival which has lately been kept, they ſay,—ſuch a one was a charming affair; there were ſix or eight people killed or made cripples at it. If nothing of this kind has been done, it is called a mere nothing, a fiddle-faddle buſineſs. In the laſt century, and the beginning of this, the Bavarian troops maintained the firſt reputation among the German forces. At the battle of Hockſtedt, they kept their ground and imagined themſelves victors, till the elector who led them was informed that the French had given way in the other wing. Under Tilly and Mercy they likewiſe did wonders; but ſince the time of theſe generals, military diſcipline has ſo far relaxed amongſt them, that they are no longer ſoldiers. Indeed no people can ſhew more abhorrence to every thing which is called diſcipline and order, than the Bavarians do. They might, however, ſtill be uſeful as free-

booters,

booters, whoſe robberies and all irregularities are more pardonable than thoſe of regular troops. There are bands of robbers about, which are one thouſand men ſtrong, and would undoubtedly make good ravaging parties in time of war. There have been inſtances of their fighting againſt the military, under bold leaders, to the very laſt man. But the pooreſt peaſant conſiders it as a hardſhip to be drafted into the regular troops of his prince.

The inhabitants of the capital, on the other hand, are the moſt weak, timid, and ſubſervient people in the world. They have no quickneſs of parts at all, and you will ſeek in vain in the town for that liberty, which ſometimes indeed degenerates into coarſeneſs of manners, but is ſtill the moſt agreeable trait in the character of the country people. Under the laſt government, while the people of Munich were crouching under a deſpotic miniſter, and only ventured to murmur in ſecret, the country people diſcovered their diſcontent with a freedom which threatened dangerous conſequences. At the ſame time, an unbounded and inexpreſſible love for their prince prevailed on them to pull down the incloſures of their fields at the command of the maſter of the hounds, in order that the game might paſture there. They ſpake with raptures of the amiable

able qualities of their lord; indeed they did not paſs over his faults, but tried to excuſe him for them, and loaded his ſervants, without reſerve, with their heavieſt curſes, and thus gave every ſtranger a juſt idea of the court, while the inhabitants of the town, in the dedicatory addreſſes of books and poems, extolled the tyrants of the land to heaven. The country people judge as impartially of the preſent government. I ſhould not, however, have obtained any account of the prince or his ſervants, if I had not got acquainted with ſome foreign artiſts belonging to the court, who were more intereſted in the ſtate of them both than the natives, who are infatuated with their beer pots. Every ſhoe-black in Paris knows all the great people of the court, pries into their private life as well as their politics, and condemns or approves at diſcretion; but here you meet with many court-counſellors and ſecretaries, who know nothing of the great people, except their names. To conclude, the unadulterated Bavarian peaſant is gruff, fat, dirty, lazy, drunken, and undiſciplined; but he is brave, œconomical, patriotic, and ſuch a ſlave to his word, that when it has once been given it is never broke. As to his hatred of regular diſcipline, it is partly owing to the diſcouragement thrown upon the military

litary way of life by the clergy, and partly to there being no proviſion for diſabled ſoldiers. Something too ariſes from the prince's not being military; for in the year 1778, when the imperial troops were recruiting at Straubingen, and carried about with them a picture of the emperor in his uniform, many of the natives immediately enliſted on hearing that the emperor was a ſoldier.

LETTER XII.

Munich.

YOU are extremely right in thinking that this court would be of great conſequence, if it knew how to make uſe of its powers. It is able to meaſure ſwords with the king of Denmark, and Sweden is not much ſuperior to it in force; for if we take from the ſum total of the ſubjects of this northern potentate's power, the Laplanders, and the reſt of its almoſt intirely unſerviceable people, what remains will ſcarce exceed the population of this territory. Bavaria has 1,180,000; the Palatinate on the Rhine 220,000; and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg about 260,000 men. The total number therefore

therefore of the ſubjects of this court, amounts to about 1,720,000. I know that in ſome ſtate papers they are reckoned at little more than 1,400,000, but certainly the ſubjects who live in Weſtphalia are not included in this calculation.

There is likewiſe a great difference about the income of the court. The very induſtrious, and in general the very accurate Mr. Buſching, tells us, in the laſt edition of his excellent work, that he is informed from good authority, that the income of Bavaria amounts to eight millions of Rheniſh florins, or 800,000l. and this agrees with the calculation commonly made here. I told you, however, in my laſt, that very few people here are acquainted with the ſtate of the court, and that they are induced, by a ridiculous vanity, to make more of things than they are. Some, who ought to have been in the ſecret, would have perſuaded me, that the court had from twelve to ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds yearly income. I ſaw it was impoſſible to get at the truth, otherwiſe than by inquiring particularly at the proper offices into the ſtate of finances; at laſt, after long ſearch, I made out, with tolerable certainty, that the aggregate income from the taxes, cuſtoms, exciſe, foreſts, mines, &c. hardly amounted to five hundred thouſand pounds.

In

this eſtimate, one of the moſt conſiderable articles, the trade with the Saltzburg and Riechenhaller ſalt, is not included. This is reckoned by ſome at two millions, but it is moſt highly probable that it does not produce more than one. We may therefore moſt ſafely ſtate the income of Bavaria at ſix millions of florins, or 600,000l. The revenue of the Palatinate on the Rhine amounts to about 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000l. and that of the countries in the circle of Weſtphalia to about 1,500,000, or 150,000l. ſo that on the whole, this court may have a revenue of nine millions of florins, or about 900,000l. You perceive by this ſtatement, that the income from the lands on the Rhine amounts to ſomething more than the half of the revenues of Bavaria, notwithſtanding that it does not contain one half as many inhabitants as Bavaria; but this difference, as well as that which the profitable Bavarian ſalt occaſions, is overbalanced by the better employment of the abovementioned lands, by more diligent huſbandry, by greater taxes, by more lively trade, and by more profitable duties of all kinds.

If Bavaria were as well peopled and culti-

vated in proportion to its extent as the countries on the Rhine connected with it are, it would yield three or four millions of florins more. I have told you already, that it contains a ſpace of ſeven hundred and twenty-nine ſquare miles. The Palatinate and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg, all together, hardly contain two hundred and forty ſquare miles; but this ſpace, which is not a third as large as Bavaria, has half as many inhabitants in it, and yields more than half as much revenue.

This difference ariſes, in a great meaſure, from the great attention paid to monks in this country; an attention which muſt neceſſarily prevent any increaſe of population, any exceſs of knowledge, any induſtry, or a more improved cultivation to the country. There are two hundred cloiſters in this country, and at leaſt five thouſand monks. Many of theſe cloiſters have incomes of three or four thouſand pounds a year; that of Niederalteich has not leſs than 10,000l. *per annum*. Without exaggerating, one may rate the revenue of the cloiſters, and other religious foundations of this country, at about two millions of florins, or 200,000l. which is a third part of the whole income of the country.

The

The damage which the monks do the country is moſt notorious. This appears with regard to the farmers called *hermits*, whoſe children they are very aſſiduous to make monks of, becauſe they receive with every one of them, one, two, three, or more thouſand florins. The conſequence to the country is, that by this diminution of the laborious part of the community, the property remains in too few hands, and the country is never above half cultivated. The country alſo loſes ſomething by the ſons of the other farmers who are bred in convents; for the education given them unfits them for every profeſſion, but thoſe of idle authors or comedians. — The propenſity to idle life, to feaſting, and beggary, which reigns over all Bavaria, is countenanced and ſanctioned by the example of the fat prieſts. The people envy them ſtrongly their bleſſed idleneſs. The jugglery, the brotherhoods, church feaſts, and corner devotions of theſe holy quacks, employ the attention of the multitude ſo much, that they ſpend the third part of their time amongſt them. —Intereſt prompts them to keep the people in a ſtate of ſtupidity, and therefore they are conſtantly in the field ready to oppoſe, with almoſt

inconceivable fury, every thing which tends to improve and enlighten the underſtanding. They alone are to be thanked for the ſhocking wildneſs of manners which appears in Bavaria. Their cowls contain the eſſence of Chriſtianity and all morality. They preach nothing but maſſes, which are very profitable to them, the roſary, the ſcapulaire and ridiculous mortification to the body, by which means ſo many a blockhead has got the name of a ſaint. The deceived countryman believes, that confeſſion and a maſs, which coſts fifteen pence, will wipe away the foulеſt ſins, and conſiders the telling his beads as his moſt eſſential duty. The ſecular prieſts are as few in number as the monks are many. Theſe ought naturally to form the manners of the country; but they are held in much leſs veneration than the others, becauſe their dreſs and appearance is not ſo extraordinary. In Bavaria, however, they do not deſerve more reſpect than the monks; for the greater part of them differ from the peaſants only by wearing black, having a more expenſive table, and a handſomer and better dreſſed houſe-keeper. In other things they are equally lazy, untutored, and ignorant.—Their pariſhes are four miles in compaſs,

paſs, and produce from four to 600l. *per annum*. What an advantage it would be to the country, if theſe livings were to be divided into five or ſix ſmaller ones, and filled with a better race of holy ſhepherds! At the ſame time, the monks ſhould be prohibited from interpoſing in the care of ſouls, or, what would be rather more advantageous, though not to be expected under this government, they ſhould be extirpated altogether.

If the eſtates of the convents, which formerly belonged to the electors, and were given away in melancholy moments, were to be reaſſumed, and if all foreigners without exception were allowed a free exerciſe of their religion, the national debts would be very ſoon diſcharged, and the country immediately put on quite a different appearance. But Charles Theodore is ſo far from being capable of ſuch exertions, and is ſo little acquainted with his own intereſt, and with that of his country, as to be founding a new convent in the Palatinate on the Rhine, and making a preſent of the wealth of the ex-jeſuits (another ſort of monks) to the knights of Malta. What ſhall we ſay of the private man, who is loaded with debts, and yet makes religious foundations? But here no reaſoning will apply.

The overbearing greatneſs of many Bavarian farmers gave riſe to ſome conſiderations in my mind, which deſerve to be farther noticed. I divide the country people into three claſſes; 1ſt. Into thoſe whoſe properties are too ſmall to live by, and who muſt ſerve others to obtain their full maintenance. 2dly. Into ſuch as can depend on means ſufficient from their own property. And 3dly. Into thoſe who poſſeſs more than is neceſſary for the convenient ſupport of a family, and who are called more or leſs rich farmers. At firſt ſight it appears fair enough, that the land-tax ſhould be equal for all, and that all ſhould pay in proportion to the ground they hold; but it is not ſo; on the contrary it is a great political error to make the peaſant, who has not half ſufficient to maintain his family, pay as much in proportion as he who has a full competency; for firſt, it is a political axiom, that three or four middling citizens are more valuable to a ſtate than one rich one, although his capital may much exceed that of the others; and ſecondly, though an intirely equal partition of poſſeſſions and gold in a ſtate, were it poſſible, would indeed be madneſs; ſtill, under the conviction it is impoſſible, every prudent

ruler will conduct his administration as if it were not so. The most unhappy countries are those in which the greatest riches, and greatest poverty, are to be met with at the same time. Such a state cannot subsist long: one part of the inhabitants must be despots, the other slaves. In the fermentation incidental to such a country, persons really free are either thrown out or destroyed.—One over rich farmer gradually swallows up all the poor in his circuit. He lends money on the ground of the poor, seizes the occasion of a barren year to purchase cheap a little property of his neighbour, and when he is not restrained by feelings of honour, has innumerable artifices to get possession of any piece of ground which lies convenient for him. I saw with astonishment, in some republican states, how some rich farmers had found means to dispossess a whole community, and become the tyrants of the neighbourhood. In monarchies the evil is not so great; but however, it is always sufficiently so to require to be opposed with every nerve.

Let us now compare the advantages which a rich farmer can draw from his lands, with the advantages resulting to a middling or a poor

one. The poor man muſt ſell his produce as quickly as poſſible, and generally at a low price, becauſe his creditors are urgent. The middling one cannot keep the price up long, becauſe he is in danger of being obliged to borrow money, and of loſing by the intereſt as much as he could gain by laying by. But the rich one can ſpeculate, and ſeldom bargains at the low price at which the others are obliged to ſell the earnings of their ſweat and toil. He buys grain from the low people round about, or he has previouſly advanced them the price of their crops; they muſt therefore let him have it at his own price, and then he raiſes the price of grain in the market. By inundations, or hail ſtorms, the ſmall farmer has often not ſeed enough for the enſuing year. The piece of ground in courſe lies waſte, and when the rich man poſſeſſes it, he cultivates it with double and treble profit, and becomes, at the expence of the poor and the ſtate, richer and richer, till at laſt, often to the great injury of population, a dozen ſmall farms are ſwallowed up by him; the young gentleman, his ſon, who is mean while at ſtudy, will not any longer continue in the country, but fixes himſelf in town, lets his lands,

lands, and adds another inſignificant idler to the ſtate.

Ought not, then, the rich farmer to contribute ſomething more to the ſtate, in return for thoſe advantages which he derives from having his property ſo much better circumſtanced than that of his neighbours?

'I conceive it therefore highly juſt, that in the impoſition of taxes, ſome reſpect ſhould be paid to the different kind and condition of farmers. The poor one ſhould not pay ſo much in proportion for a piece of ground as the middling one, nor the latter ſo much as the rich one. On the contrary, the ſtate ſhould endeavour to relieve the poor one till he became as thriving as the middling one, and to prevent the laſt from aggrandizing himſelf to the injury of population. I would alſo in my republic, which, like unformed chaos, is yet floating in infinity of ſpace, fix ſome middle point, and in the laying of taxes, make the tax to correſpond with the degree in which the income of a ſingle farmer falls ſhort of, or exceeds this point. For example:—In my republic a thriving farmer ſhould be one who poſſeſſed land to the amount of ſix thouſand florins of property.

Thus

Thus every one, who had under four thouſand florins of capital, ſhould pay one per cent; he who varied between four or five to ſix thouſand dollars, two per cent; he who poſſeſſed more, three per cent; and whoever poſſeſſed the double of ſo much, ſhould pay four per cent. for all that was above the middle point. Thus in purchaſing a piece of ground the poor would have a juſt advantage over the middling farmer, and the middling one over the rich. It is true, my officers would have occaſion for more arithmetic, and it would be neceſſary to run a little more up and down;—but leave me to take care of that, when I have once got my ſtate upon a ſure ground and eſtabliſhment.

To return now to our * Bavaria, you can very eaſily and clearly imagine to yourſelf how far it is from being what it might be made. If the

* The many projects which the author has formed for Bavaria, gave him a right to call the one made by him *his* Bavaria. In the year 1740 an Auſtrian general made frequent uſe of the expreſſion, *Notre Baviere.* A French officer, who was treating with him for an exchange of priſoners, heard him a long time, and at laſt ſaid, '*Monſieur, nous avons une chanſon dont le refrein eſt: Quand j'ai bien bu, toute la terre eſt a moi.*'

debts

debts were paid off, the number of ſubjects and quantity of income would enable the elector to keep a ſtanding army of forty or fifty thouſand men, and could, as things now are, if theſe parts of his poſſeſſions were as well cultivated as the country on the Rhine, increaſe them to ſixty thouſand, and command high reſpect from his mightieſt neighbours. When his ſucceſſor comes to the government, the reſources will ſtill be granted by the acceſſion of the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, and poſſibly alſo the ſtate œconomy will be better.

LET-

LETTER XIII.

Saltzburg.

THE way from Munich here is very dull. It lies through a vaſt plain, only here and there broken by gentle elevations. The many dark woods, the miſerable and thin ſcattered peaſantry, the want of towns, and the continual dread of robbers, make one haſten out of Bavaria as quickly as poſſible. For ſeventeen long German miles there is no place of note, but the dark Waſſerburg, which ſtands on one of the barren ſand-hills, through which the river Inn winds.

When you come to the frontiers of Saltzburg things mend. The proſpects are more varied, the habitations of the peaſants appear neater, and the cultivation of the country improves. About half a mile from this town there is one of the

the prettieſt proſpects I have ever met with. Conceive to yourſelf a vaſt amphitheatre; the back ground of the picture is occupied by high rocks lifting up their heads to heaven. Some of them, which are rather on the ſide, are in the ſhape of pyramids. Theſe vaſt maſſes terminate by degrees in wooded mountains to the back, and in beautiful and cultivated hills to the ſide of the proſpect. Preciſely in the midſt of this ſcene ſtands the town, which is commanded by the caſtle ſtanding on a high rock. The river Saltz gives the mixed landſcapes ſtill more life. Here and there it ſpreads itſelf out, and its banks in many places are ſhaded with deep hanging woods.

The country about this town forms a ſtriking contraſt with the barren, deſolate wilds of Munich. It is indeed very ſtriking, and exhibits a matchleſs and admirable union of nature and art. The ſtream divides itſelf into two unequal parts. To the weſtward, where the greateſt part of the town lies, there riſes on the wide plain a high, round, ſteep and hard rock, which has the caſtle as a crown on it. The river winds along by the foot of this rock, and at a ſmall diſtance from it, there riſes a mountain

of

of ſoft ſtone directly perpendicular on both ſides, and about one hundred feet high. Upon this natural wall, which is much higher than the higheſt houſe of the town, there grows a thick wood in the midſt of which are ſeveral plantations. Through the part of the wall where it is only ſixty feet broad, they have cut a handſome paſſage. On the other ſide of the river, there is the moſt romantic rock ever ſeen. It is a kind of naked wall, which ſtretches along the plain from the river for three miles, and is five hundred feet high. I cannot better deſcribe the peculiarity of this ſituation to you, than by bidding you conceive the town as the centre of a ſemi-circle of hills, the two parts of the river as ſemi-diameters, and this wall as a radius of the circle.

The town itſelf is very handſome—the houſes are high, and built all of ſtone. The roofs of the houſes are in the Italian taſte, and you may walk out upon them. The cathedral is the handſomeſt building I have ſeen ſince I left Paris. It is built of freeſtone, and is an imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. The portico is of marble, and the whole is covered with copper. Before the portico there is a large quadrangular place,

place, with arches and galleries, in which is the prince's reſidence, and the abbey of St. Peter. In the middle of this place there is a ſtatue of the Virgin, in Bronze; it is fine, but of an unnatural ſize. There are large areas, encompaſſed with handſome buildings, on both ſides of the church. In the middle of that which is to the left, there is the moſt magnificent fountain of marble I ever ſaw, and ſome valuable figures of gigantic ſize. There is likewiſe a fountain in that to the right, but it is not to be compared with the former one, and the Neptune of it makes but a very pitiful figure. This town contains many more excellent buildings and ſtatues, which remind you that the borders of Italy are not far diſtant.

As far as I know of the inhabitants, they appear very ſocial, open and lively, and uncommonly attached to ſtrangers. Until I ſhall get better acquainted with them, I muſt give you an account of ſome excurſions I made into ſeveral parts of Bavaria, in my way from Munich.

Freyſingen, an epiſcopal reſidence, though not ill built, is on the whole a miſerable little place. It conſiſts ſolely of monks, ſtrumpets,

a few

a few melancholy ſtudents, and poor mechanics. The prince's caſtle is pleaſantly ſituated upon the ſide of a mountain, from which it commands a delightful proſpect over great part of Bavaria, and the mountains of Tyrol and Saltzburg. The biſhop's poſſeſſions lie ſcattered through Bavaria and Auſtria. His income may perhaps amount to 30,000 florins, or 3000l. a year, and he keeps his lord high ſteward, his maſter of the hounds, his counſellors, his body guards, his muſic, and his cook and butler, which two laſt have undoubtedly the moſt to do.

From Freyſingen I travelled on to Ratiſbon, a dark, melancholy, and very large town, which you know is the ſeat of the diet, and contains about twenty-two thouſand inhabitants. I really do not know what to ſay to you about it, except that the bridge over the Danube is a very heavy one, which was built by the Devil, and that I met with very good quarters at the White Lamb, the maſter of which is the civileſt and moſt accommodating landlord that I have yet found in Germany.—One would imagine the number of envoys, from the different princes of the empire who are conſtantly reſident here, would give life to the place; but you cannot

think

think how dead every thing is. If it were not for the prince of Thurn and Taxis, the emperor's principal commiſſary, and poſt-maſter general of the empire, you would not believe the town to be the ſeat of the diet. But this gentleman, whoſe income is about four hundred thouſand florins, or 40,000l. *per annum*, gives operas, comedies, wild-beaſt baitings, balls, and fire-works. He is indeed a very worthy perſon, and does honour to his place by his greatneſs of mind and noble way of thinking. This gentleman may be ſaid to do the honours of the diet in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word; for the reſt of the Ambaſſadors are forced to live very œconomically, on account of the ſmallneſs of their incomes. Many of them go about in hackney-coaches. As every thing that is for their uſe comes into the city duty free, the people of the place make heavy complaints of their ſervants for carrying on a large contraband trade. Indeed they conceive that what they loſe by this, is more than an equivalent for what they gain by the diet in other reſpects. The fact is, that the Ambaſſadors from the greateſt powers, who have large incomes, and ſeem to be paid for holding great ſtate, hold

none; and as the other miniſters regulate themſelves by their example, one may be ſeveral weeks in town without being ſenſible that the diet is aſſembled. Our Ambaſſador is one of the foreigners who is moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge. Both he and the ſecretary to the embaſſy, Mr. Heriſſant, the ſon of a bookſeller at Paris, are particularly well acquainted with German politics, and alſo with German literature.

The buſineſs of the diet is very tedious. This is owing to the prevalence of party on all great occaſions, and the jealouſy which the great powers entertain of each other; for the forms, according to which buſineſs is done, are in themſelves very ſimple. The diet conſiſts of three colleges, to wit, the electorate, that of the prince's, and that of the college of the ſtates. The two firſt are called the higher colleges, though they have no eſſential pre-eminence over the other in the common buſineſs of the diet. All theſe colleges aſſemble in a hall, to receive the emperor's propoſitions; thence they retire into three ſeparate chambers, where the votes of each other are collected, in a manner well calculated for the purpoſe. The majority decides

in each chamber as to the rules of that chamber, and ſo does the majority of the three colleges as to the determination of the whole. When the three colleges are unanimous, it is called a concluſion of the diet, and is laid before the emperor, or his principal commiſſary, as a judgment of the diet. When one college differs from the two others, its concluſions are tranſmitted to the emperor. The reſolutions agreed on are immediately executed, and at the concluſion of the diet, are entered among the decrees of the empire.

The electoral college, beſides the advantage it naturally derives from the ſmall number of voters in it, whoſe deciſions are ſtill of as much weight as thoſe of the other two, has a great additional influence from the circumſtance of the five ſecular members of it having near twenty votes in the college of princes. Since the death of the laſt elector of Bavaria, it conſiſts but of eight voices; the elector and archbiſhop of Mentz is the preſident. It is not yet ſettled who is to have the deciſive voice in caſe of any equality; but as this is an event to be expected, it is thought that there will ſoon be a ninth elector choſen from the houſe of Wirtem-

berg or Heſſe-Caſſel. The only obſtacle is the jealouſy of ſome of the electoral houſes, leſt the emperor ſhould propoſe one of his own dependants.

In the college of princes there are in all one hundred votes, of which thirty-three are eccleſiaſtical, ſixty-one ſecular, and ſix collective. Theſe laſt conſiſt of the two benches of prelates and abbeſſes, namely, the Suabian and Rheniſh, and of the four colleges of the counts of the empire, namely, the Wetteravian, Suabian, Weſtphalian, and Franconian. Each college of counts, and each bench of prelates, has one vote. There are twenty members on the bench of Suabian prelates, and nineteen on that of the Rheniſh ones. The Wetteravian college of counts has ten members, the Suabian twenty, the Franconian ſixteen, and the Weſtphalian thirty-four. There are many counts of the empire who are not included in this number, becauſe though they have been raiſed to the dignity of count, they have not yet taken their ſeat at the diet. Other ſeats are vacant, becauſe the lands they are attached to have fallen into greater houſes, the maſters of which conſider the privilege of voting as counts, as ſlender and inconſiderable.

ſiderable. The college of princes has this privilege peculiar to it, that one houſe can have many votes; thus the preſent elector Palatine has ſeven votes, and his ſucceſſor, the duke of Deux-Ponts, will have eight; the king of Pruſſia has five, and after the death of the preſent prince of Anſpach and Bareith, will have ſeven; the elector of Brunſwick has five. This ariſes from the rank of principality in the empire being veſted in the property, not in the perſon; ſo one perſon may poſſeſs ſeveral properties, each of which ſeparately claims his title of principality. Auſtria and Saltſburg take it by turns to preſide over this college, the one one day, and the other the next. The archbiſhop of Beſançon, and the king of Sardinia, as duke of Savoy, have for a long time left off ſending miniſters to the diet, ſo the college of princes conſiſts now only of ninety-eight votes. The college of the ſtates conſiſts of fifty-one, and is divided into two, namely, the Suabian and Rheniſh. On the firſt there are thirty-ſeven, and on the other fourteen ſeats. The ſtate in which the diet is held has the direction.

The imperial court has a great influence in all the three colleges. The three eccleſiaſtical

electors have been almoſt conſtantly creatures of the emperor, who ſpares neither gold, threats, nor promiſes, to inſpire the canons of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, in the choice of a new archbiſhop. Formerly our court uſed the ſame methods of acquiring influence in the empire; but that channel is now ſtopped up for ever, by the vigilance and activity of the court of Vienna. The emperor has the ſame weight in the prince's college. Almoſt all the eccleſiaſtical princes are his true ſons. The chapter of Luttoch is the only one, in modern times, which has dared to withſtand the emperor's influence in the election of the ſovereign. Beſides theſe means of gaining influence, it has always been the maxim of the imperial court to raiſe the members of the hereditary dominion, who poſſeſſed the ſmalleſt fief in the empire, to the dignity of princes, in order to inſure them a ſeat and a vote in the diet. It is thus that the houſes of Lobkowits, Dieteichſtein, Schwarzenberg, Lichtenſtein, Auerſberg, and Thurn, have been introduced into the college, in ſpite of the proteſtations of all the old princes, merely to ſtrengthen the influence of the houſe of Auſtria. The dukes of Aremberg are amongſt the

the old princes; but as by far the greateſt part of their poſſeſſions lie in the hereditary lands of Auſtria, they are almoſt totally dependant on the court of Vienna. Many others of the old houſes, on account of the ſituation of their properties, alſo adhere to the emperor, who from one cauſe or other, may be ſuppoſed to be ſecure of half the votes to carry whatever he has a mind ſhould be carried. In the college of towns he rules almoſt without control;—for as theſe are almoſt all encompaſſed by moſt powerful princes, they require the particular protection of the court of Vienna to prevent their being totally cruſhed.

Powerful as the emperor's influence may be under ſuch circumſtances, ſtill the ſtates find means to counteract the ſtream, and interrupt its force. Mably has juſtly obſerved, in his remarks on the hiſtory of France, that if you conſider the empire as compoſed of independent ſtates, who have leagued with each other for mutual defence, one could not deviſe wiſer regulations than they have inſtituted to ſecure their liberty from internal uſurpers. The definition of the conſtitution of the empire, 'It is

'a confuſion preſerved by God's omnipotence,'* is a juſt one as long as the empire is erroneouſly conſidered as a ſingle ſelf-ſubſiſting ſtate; but if you view it, that is, as an aſſembly of many free ſtates, who have knit themſelves together by a certain political ſyſtem, one ſhall diſcover, in place of confuſion, a great deal of order; and inſtead of unmeaning connection, a great deal of prudence and foreſight. The dam which I have mentioned to you, is that law which provides, that 'the majority in the imperial colleges ſhould not be deciſive, either in religion, 'or thoſe matters in which the ſtates could not 'be conſidered as one body, or where the catholics were of one, and the proteſtants of another opinion.' In theſe caſes the colleges divide into parties, and however ſmall in number one party may be, its decree is held equal to the other more numerous one. Religion alone gave riſe to this law; but in latter times, the genius of politics has made good uſe of it, and all the catholics, who are neceſſarily dependant on the emperor's court, have found it of ſervice for a ſmaller number of proteſtants to be able to

* Eſt confuſio divinitus conſervata.

oppoſe

oppoſe the emperor. Since the power of the king of Pruſſia has got ſo aſtoniſhingly high, he is at the head of the proteſtant party, although Saxony has the apparent government of it, and he proteſts often very vehemently againſt things in which religion is not in the leaſt concerned.

From Munich I went to Inſpruck, and from thence into the Tyrol. I will reſerve what I have to ſay on that ſubject till its proper place, which will be when I come to the Auſtrian territories; beſides, this letter is already of the proper length.

LET-

LETTER XIV.

Saltzburg.

IT was with great pleaſure that I wandered over this romantic country, and at one time ſtanding on ſome immenſe peak I viewed under me the clouds, towered on clouds, boundleſs plains, innumerable lakes, rivers, and brooks, vallies of tremendous depth, and the bare ſummits of huge granate rocks, with the ſenſations which are peculiar to ſuch heavenly regions. Sometimes I take my abode in the deep hanging brow of a mountain, in a ſhepherdeſs's hut, who dwells the whole ſummer through with her flocks in this ſubterreſtrial region, and is viſited only by her lover, who clambers up two or three miles of the mountains to her, ſome wild-goat hunter, or by chance ſome ſtrayed knight like myſelf; there I live a day like an ancient patriarch on milk and cheeſe,

cheeſe, count the flock which in the evening aſſembles round the hut, at the ſound of a flute, and which at the moment I can think are my own, ſleep upon a heap of hay far more tranquil than you upon your hypochondriac down bed, and then enjoy the beauties of the riſing ſun, with a luxury and delight, which at operas, comedies, balls, and all the uſual places of entertainment, you muſt look for in vain. Sometimes I viſit a lake, in the boſom of a high mountain, which charms my ſight ſtill more, if at break of day, I find it mantled over with a miſt. Then with greater pleaſure, I ſurvey the riſing ſun *drive*, and *diſperſe* the miſt into the valley, and the gilded mountain tops emerging high above it, now the wind by degrees diſcovers the lake like a mirrour, and the miſt, like a night ſpectre, creeps through the interſtices of the mountain into ſome neighbouring cliffs. Then I make a little voyage in a hollowed tree, which here muſt do the ſervice of a ſhip, and breakfaſt on exquiſite butter and honey, in ſome neighbouring peaſant's houſe, and ſmile when I think of you, who are ſitting at your tea table, in your learned night-gown, and critic night-cap, ſwallowing with your tea, ſome as watery ſtale production of

the

the day, and from all that rot-gut ſtuff, get ſwelled, and puffed with wind, which you vainly endeavour to diſpel by Rhubarb, and all the preparations of your medicine cheſt.

The part which is towards the town has the appearance of an immenſe pyramid; but it ſtretches backwards into a rock, which is a mile long, and takes ſix or ſeven hours to walk round. A common traveller will reach the top in five hours; but the goat hunters, who climb like cats, do it in three. There is a proſpect from it, over all Bavaria, and you may reckon nine lakes in ſight. The moſt charming part of the proſpect, is the principality of Berchtoldſgaden, which lies to the South of the mountain, and conſiſts of a woody wall encompaſſed round with vaſt heights of the moſt pictureſque granate. Amongſt them the Watzman is diſtinguiſhed by its perfectly conical appearance. The appearance of the lakes around the dark woods, have an unſpeakably fine effect. The proſpect into ſome of the neighbouring vallies of Saltzburg, is not leſs beautiful.

This mountain ſeems a proof of the truth of the ſyſtem taken up by Mr. Buffon, with regard to mountains. It conſiſts of a maſs of granate, worked

worked into the ſoil, in the declivities and depths of which, here and there ſand and chalkſtone lie as if floated in water. The lower parts of the mountain are well wooded, and it has ſome very good mines of red and white marble. From one of theſe mines, there is a fine proſpect of the town; at ſome diſtance from them, in a wide gap of the mountain, there is a very remarkable water-fall. A rapid ſtream (which in ſpring, when the ſnow begins to melt, muſt be much larger than it is now) breaks out from a cleft of the rock; which you enter by means of ſome artificial ſteps. In the cleft, where one ſhivers with cold, you hear in the inſide of the mountain, a dull rumbling, like far diſtant thunder. Probably the mountain has ſome lake in its boſom, into which the ſnow and rain water precipitating from above, occaſion the noiſe. There is not a doubt but this internal body of water muſt in time prove deſtructive to the mountain. The tradition of the country is, that the emperor Charles the Great and his whole army, are confined and ſhut up in this mountain, until Doomſday, and will continue till then, amuſing themſelves with this terrible noiſe. On a certain day of the year, about midnight, the emperor is to be ſeen with his train of miniſters

and

and generals, going in proceſſion to the cathedral of Saltzburg. Were it not that you are ſo well acquainted with the wonders to be met in the Sierra Morena at the mouth of the Quadiana, I could lay before you a legally atteſted account of wizards, whoſe white beards by length of time, have grown ten or twenty times about the table, on which they lie ſleeping in the mountain, and of hermits a thouſand years old, who have led ſtrayed goat-hunters through ſubterraneous paſſages, and ſhewn them fairy palaces of gold and precious ſtones. From the cleft whence the ſpirit of the great Charles iſſues to walk by night, the ſtream precipitates itſelf with a loud noiſe, and falls in a variety of caſcades down the deep and narrow gully which it ſeems to have dug itſelf in the hard marble. Here and there it has hollowed out baſons of marble by its fall, which no power of art could have given a better poliſh to. Indeed they are ſo nicely conſtructed, that the lovers of antiquity in the neighbourhood have actually been at the pains to prove that they are ancient baths. Quite below, at the foot of the mountain, behind a mill, the fall preſents a moſt pictureſque appearance. It is not very high at this point, but very

very ſingular, becauſe the water is divided into innumerable threads, which croſs each other in ſuch varied and ſtrange ways, amidſt the fragments of the rock which have fallen from above, that no imagination can deviſe a caſcade ſo fanciful and capricious. Here on the detached rocks are ſmall pine-trees, which infinitely increaſe the beauty of the ſcene. The water of this ſtream is ſo cold, that you could not hold your hand in it ten ſeconds; and yet in the greateſt ſweat, and perſpiration, you may drink as much as you pleaſe, without the ſmalleſt danger; as you digeſt it as eaſily as air. When I am perfectly faint, I do not know a better cordial than this water.

That part of the principality of Saltzburg which lies to the north of the capital, is likewiſe very mountainous, but it produces ſufficient grain for the ſupport of its inhabitants. But about ſix miles from the town, there is a long narrow valley, which ſtretches itſelf firſt ſome miles ſouthward, and then weſtward, is bounded by vaſt mountains, is watered by the river Saltza, conſtitutes the greateſt part of the principality, but ſcarcely bears one third part of the neceſſary grain. The entrance to this valley is

called

called the Paſs of Lueg or Luhk, a word which in low Dutch and Engliſh ſignifies *look*, and anſwers to the watch tower of many *Imperial towns* and territories. This paſs is a deep narrow hollow between naked, ſuſpended, perpendicular rocks of granate, which hang over on each ſide, riſe to an enormous height, and through which the Saltza pours with great impetuoſity. Above the river they have cut a path in the rock, and there is a gate, with hardly room enough for a ſingle carriage to paſs, protected by a battery, ſo that a few people here could withſtand a whole army. The other approaches to this valley are equally well guarded, and nature ſeems to have fortified it as well as Wales.

Beſides this large valley, there are ſeveral leſſer ones adjoining, which belong to this principality. They are of the ſame nature as the other, and the inhabitants of them live chiefly by breeding cattle. In many places you may find very rich farmers, who own from ſixty to fourſcore head of great cattle. They export ſome cheeſe and butter, but not near ſo much as they might do, if the inhabitants were as induſtrious, frugal, and diſpoſed for trade as the Swiſs. Beſides horned cattle they alſo breed great

great numbers of horſes which are very ſtrong, and are exported to great diſtances for the purpoſes of heavy burden and draught; their ſhape is not handſome; their heads are too thick, and their hind quarters too high; but I remember well to have ſeen in ſome towns on the Rhine, a ſingle Saltzburg horſe drawing a weight of forty quintals, and a very heavy cart beſides, from the river to the town. The farmers uſe them to hard labour at three years old, and this is the cauſe why they ſoon become ſtiff, and cannot ſerve for coach horſes. The emperor gave twelve pounds for one for his artillery. The dominions which this prince has in Carinthen, are, in point of natural advantages, much the ſame as theſe; but what he poſſeſſes in Auſtria is too inconſiderable to be mentioned. Upon the whole, this country draws near the half of its neceſſary corn from Bavaria.

The peaſant of this country cannot content himſelf with cheeſe and potatoes, as the Swiſs does; but muſt always have his meat, which, however fat it may be, he conſtantly dips in hog's lard. He muſt have an abundance of good bread, beer and brandy. Conſidering the natural ſituation of the country, this too expen-

ſive mode of living, would make them the pooreſt people in Europe, if the extravagance was not counterbalanced by a prudent and admirable œconomy in other reſpects. The Saltzburg peaſant clothes himſelf from head to foot: every family weaves a ſort of coarſe, dark grey cloth, from wool which they grow and prepare themſelves. They alſo make their own ſhoes and ſtockings. Their dreſs is by theſe means cleanly, ſimple, and graceful. With all this, the equality between the income and expenditure of the country is chiefly kept up by the mines.

The ſalt-works at Hallein are without compariſon the moſt conſiderable. The internal part of this mountain, which is about four miles diſtant from this place, conſiſts of cryſtals of ſalt, mixed with a great deal of earth. In order to clean it, they dig large hollow chambers within-ſide, and fill them with water, which waſhes the ſalt, and lets the earth ſink to the bottom. The water thus impregnated, is conveyed into pans and boiled off. In courſe of time the chambers fill of themſelves again with ſalt, and the treaſure is inexhauſtible. One of theſe chambers, when it is lighted up, makes one of

the prettieſt ſights in the world. Conceive to yourſelf a hall about a hundred feet ſquare, the walls and ground of which are compoſed of cryſtals of every earthly colour, and which reflect the light ſo wonderfully, that you would think yourſelf in ſome enchanted palace. In order to carry on this work, the woods of the foreſts along the Saltza and other rivers is floated down them. This may perhaps in time put a ſtop to it, for the ſmall woods are already viſibly thinner.

From the unfavourable ſituation of this country, it cannot uſe the whole of this treaſure for itſelf, but is obliged to give up the moſt part to foreigners. All the country round is either Auſtrian or Bavarian. The firſt have ſalt ſufficient for their own uſe, and all importation of foreign ſalt is prohibited. On the other hand, the Bavarian ſalt-work at Ratiſbon is ſo productive, that it not only provides ſufficient for that country, but alſo can afford a conſiderable quantity to foreigners. In conſequence of all this, the archbiſhops of Saltzburg have found themſelves obliged to enter into an agreement with the dukes of Bavaria, in virtue of which, theſe take a certain quantity of ſalt every year, at a very

moderate price, and furniſh Switzerland and Suabia with it. By this means, the ſalt trade of Saltzburg is properly in the hands of Bavaria, who gain full three times as much by it as the princes of Saltzburg. The value of the ſalt, which Bavaria ſtipulates to take yearly, amounts to about two hundred thouſand florins, or 20,000l. What is diſpoſed of in the country itſelf, or carried into Auſtria clandeſtinely, makes on the whole about three hundred and fifty thouſand florins, or 35,000l. of which two thirds may be clear gain.

The gold and ſilver mines of this principality make a great figure in the geography of Germany; but compared with the ſalt-works, are not worth mentioning. In the regiſters of the cuſtom-houſe, I have ſeen the entry of all the gold, ſilver, iron, copper, and other mines or pits, on an average of the laſt ten years: the prince's clear gain from all his works, was about ſixty-five thouſand florins, or 6500l. a year. He works them almoſt all himſelf; for ſome years paſt he has loſt, in digging a gold mine in the neighbourhood of Gaſtein, about twenty thouſand florins, or 2000l. a year, which he has ventured, in the treacherous hopes of being

rewarded

rewarded in time, with a rich ſpoil, and partly that the valley where it is dug, whoſe inhabitants live ſolely by theſe works, may not become a waſte. The iron here is brittle, and in no great requeſt. The prince has alſo a braſs manufactory on his own account, but the calamine neceſſary for it, grows every day more ſcarce in the country.

Mr. Buſching ſays, in his account of Germany, that he learns from good authority, 'that the income of the archbiſhop amounts to 'four millions of florins,' or 400,000l. If the prince would make me his farmer-general, I durſt hardly offer him twelve hundred thouſand florins, or 120,000l. for his whole revenue. I am pretty confident, that the taxes, tolls, and crown lands, &c. in which I include the produce of the mines, &c. do not yield much above ſix hundred thouſand florins, or 60,000l. The exciſe, cuſtoms, and other taxes levied in the capital, together with the prince's breweries, muſt bring in four hundred and thirty-five thouſand more, or 43,500l. before I could clear any thing by my contract.

The extent of the country is eſtimated at two hundred and forty German ſquare miles. There

There are only ſeven or eight towns, ſome of which are not to be compared with a Suabian village. The total number of inhabitants is computed at two hundred and fifty thouſand, of which the capital contains fourteen thouſand. There is only one manufacture in the whole country, which is a ſmall one at Hallein for cotton ſtockings, and night-caps. Since there has been a good road made to Trieſte, Saltzburg carries on a conſiderable trade in ſpices and drugs, with which it ſupplies a great part of Bavaria. The roads through this mountainous country are in general very good. Notwithſtanding here and there you paſs on wooden bridges hung by chains, over ſome dreadful abyſſes, the heavieſt carriages have nothing to fear, except perhaps the being overſet by a violent blaſt of wind, or being covered by a fall of ſnow in ſpring. On my journey to the bath at Gaſtein, one of the wildeſt regions of this country, I ſaw all that was poſſible to be done to render the moſt dreadful abyſſes and ſteepeſt rocks paſſable. In this journey I ſaw alſo one of the moſt remarkable water-falls which I ever met with. A powerful ſtream precipitates itſelf almoſt from the clouds, upon a rock beneath,

which riſes a hundred feet high above the way, and thence ſo ſtrongly recoils in an arch, that a traveller, who paſſes under this arch, is not in the leaſt wet. In front this fall cannot be ſeen, becauſe it is too narrow, and the oppoſite rock is too ſteep; but a little diſtance off, when viewed from the ſide, it preſents a moſt extraordinary aſpect.

LETTER XV.

Saltzburg.

I Am a lover of mountain ſcenes. I am by no means one of thoſe whoſe feelings are only to be excited by what is monſtrous, who love ſtrong emotions, becauſe they are commonly inſenſible to the gentler affections, and who ſeek for ſatisfaction from barren rocks, from boundleſs plains of ice and ſnow, becauſe by intemperate uſe of the joys which milder regions preſent, they are diſguſted with them. To me the moſt uniform plain is variety enough, to keep my heart in that degree of warmth, and my ſenſes within the limits which

are

are neceſſary for the uninterrupted enjoyment of nature. I embrace the tree, which ſuddenly affords me a ſhade, after I have long wandered through a barren and level ſpot, The moſs upon a heath allures me, and the rivulet which ſteals through ſome unextenſive meadow, intereſts me ſufficiently without the noiſe of a water-fall. I am however, impartial enough to do all juſtice to the mountain views, and allow them, in reſpect to beauty, the preference over the plains. The pulſe of nature beats ſtronger here, every thing diſcovers more life and energy, every thing more loudly, and emphatically ſpeaks an almighty Power at work. The ſtream which, without knowing the path it muſt purſue, meanders ſlowly through the plain, ruſhes through the mountains, and grows impetuous in its courſe; the motion of the clouds, the revolutions of the ſky, and the peals of thunder, are all more ſtrong and animated. The vallies in the fair ſeaſon of the year, are filled with finer perfumes of flowers and herbs than thoſe of the plains, whoſe ſoil is not ſo fit to preſerve their radical moiſture, and where their exhalations are diſſipated more widely in the air. Nature here is more varied, and infinitely more picturesque. Of her different ſhades, an inhabitant of the plain can form no conception, but from the contraſt,

they all, even the ſmalleſt features of them, appear more ſtriking and engaging. Here at once nature preſents the peculiarities of every ſeaſon, and the moſt different climes. As long as the ſummer laſts, in the bottom of the valley the heat of Africa is felt; in the middle of the mountain you enjoy the moderate temperature of ſpring; and the top reminds you of Siberia. And how various are the forms, chains and heaps of mountains and hills!

Man reſembles his ſoil, unleſs education and ſociety change him. The peaſant of this country bears the ſtamp of nature upon him. His movements are quick, like the ſtream in his wood; he is boiſterous in his paſſions, like the atmoſphere; he breathes ſtrong as the oak which ſhades him; and is faithful, firm and true as the rock which bears his hut. The life and variety of the ſcenes which nature offers him, render his head richer in conceptions, and his heart warmer than it would be if he dwelt upon an uniform plain, and gave himſelf up to nature as he does here. His diſtance from populous places, and the ſcattered ſituation of the huts, which give him few opportunities for diſtraction from his own concerns, preſerve his manners pure, diſpoſe him to reflection, and make him more attentive

attentive to his own proper buſineſs. In his make, the expreſſion of his countenance, his geſtures and language, he has greatly the advantage of the Bavarian peaſant. I regret inceſſantly that my want of ſufficient ſkill in the provincial dialect prevents my communing with theſe mountaineers, ſo agreeably as I wiſh to do. The unſpeakable openneſs of heart which they ſhew, their frequent inſtances of good-will and affection, together with the good humour and native pleaſantry legible in their looks, endear them at firſt ſight to every friend of humanity. Many of them ſtill wear long beards, and thoſe in the remoter parts *thou* every body, even their princes. The diſeaſe of the throat is not uncommon with them, though it be not ſo prevalent as ſome travellers chooſe to report it. In general they are a very handſome ſet of people.

The diminution made in the population and agriculture of theſe lands, by the emigration of the proteſtants about fifty years ago, is not yet recovered. In this maſter-piece of bad government, the weakneſs of a prince, and the ſelfiſh treachery of a miniſter, were beyond meaſure conſpicuous. I have read over the papers which give an account of this wonderful event, to my great edification. Thoſe are much

deceived who aſcribe the cauſe of this extraordinary commotion to religious principles, propagated in theſe mountains at the time of the reformation. From the writings before me it appears that very few had any diſtinct idea of the Augſburg or Helvetian confeſſions of faith. Theſe may poſſibly have contributed ſomething; but moſt of theſe new proteſtants became ſo through reflection and diſcourſes among themſelves, the ſtudies of which were furniſhed by maxims ſelected from catholic ſermons and religious books. Had they been allowed unlimited freedom of religion in the country, they certainly would have founded an intire new ſect, which would have had little reſemblance to either Calviniſm or Lutheraniſm. Moſt of thoſe who were heard judicially in their own defence, anſwered the queſtion, 'Whether 'they would confeſs to the Lutheran or the Catho-'lic church?' directly, 'No, to neither of them. 'We believe, but not what our countrymen 'believe, but keep ourſelves merely to the 'Scriptures.' Many circumſtances, with which the reformers of the ſixteenth century had no concern, occaſioned a ſort of rebellion of men's underſtandings. Peaſants and mechanics became preachers in their own houſes, or under ſome tree in a ſequeſtered place. In ſhort, we muſt

do

do theſe people the honour to ſay, they were almoſt intirely their own teachers. It was when they were obliged to ſeek foreign protection from the oppreſſion of their own lords, and enter into treaty with the king of Pruſſia, that they declared themſelves of a ſect, which, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, was privileged in the empire, and they did it becauſe no other means could have ſecured them from total oppreſſion.

The archbiſhop of that time was a good man, who truly loved his ſubjects, and did every thing poſſible, acording to his judgment, to guide them in the ſtraight path to happineſs. He ſent capuchins as miſſionaries into the mountains, whoſe capuchins and beards however could get no hold on men whoſe underſtandings were awakened. He prayed inceſſantly for the converſion of his ſtrayed ſheep, and ſpared neither gold nor kind words to recover them back to heaven. The loſs of ſo many ſouls was far more grievous to him than the departure of ſo many poor from the culture of his lands, and the conſequent diminution of his income.

His chancellor, however, viewed things in a quite different light. He had calculated what benefits he could derive to himſelf by the emigration of ſo many thouſand inhabitants, and

the ſale of ſo many eſtates. He made uſe of the weakneſs of his prince, on this moſt plauſible occaſion, to fill his own purſe. He repreſented to him how dangerous it was for the ſafety of his yet right-believing ſubjects to permit heretics to dwell among them. Taking advantage of the following anſwer made by one of the adherents to the new doctrine to a neighbour, who had given him great provocation: 'Stay only till the king of Pruſſia's ſix 'thouſand men draw near, we ſhall ſtrike all 'your heads off. He is another kind of mo'narch than the archbiſhop, and he is already 'on his march to us, &c.' The patriotic chancellor diſcovered high treaſon, in a ſpeech which was only the expreſſion of a raſh, unguarded moment of paſſion. By a ſingle word he became the actual cauſe of the retreat of about twenty-five thouſand men, by which he gained about fifty thouſand, and the archbiſhop loſt one hundred thouſand florins of his yearly income. The king of Pruſſia ſent two commiſſaries here, who were ordered to protect the property of thoſe who choſe to retire into his territories, and brought out of the country the greateſt part of the gold which was got by the ſale of the houſes, properties, and goods of the refugees.

There

There are ſtill over all the mountains many adherents to the new doctrine. I made acquaintance with one, who is in every reſpect too remarkable not to introduce him to you alſo. Some days ago I viſited with another gentleman the ſheriff, or, as he is termed here, the conſtable of Werfen, a very polite and clear thinking man; for, in the moſt remote parts of theſe mountains, the information of the people exceeded my expectations. This excurſion gave me pleaſure in every ſtep.

From the paſs of Lueg, where the great valley begins, the road runs for two miles into Werfen, through a narrow gully, between naked rocks, which in many places ſtand like heaven's high walls on each ſide. The ſcattered clumps of wood at the foot of this chain of mountains; the wild variety in the courſe of the river Saltz; the extraordinary inciſions, formation, and complexion of the rocks; the marks of the former height of the river, viſible many fathoms above its preſent bed; the ſingular ſtation of the very few habitations; and the ſtriking diſpoſition of the whole, gives this otherwiſe ſolitary landſcape ſufficient attractions to fix a traveller's attention. The caſtle of Werfen ſtands by the ſpot of this name, where the valley begins to widen remarkably, upon a detached rock of a

conical form, which riſes in the middle of the gully. On one ſide of it there is ſcarcely room for the road, and on the other, ſcarcely room for the river. The front of the caſtle commands a proſpect over the wide part of the valley, which runs between hills, part of which are well cultivated, and part covered with rich woods; and from the back you ſee the narrow deep glen, through which the traveller has come, the rocky points of which are ſhining in the ſun, while in the depth below perpetual darkneſs ſits encamped. In the caſtle many priſoners are confined, who are ſometimes obliged to work in chains. I was ſtruck peculiarly with the form and countenance of a man, of whom I had already heard much reported. He has the figure of a handſome elderly man, of ſomething more than ſixty years, who ſtill preſerves a fine ruddy complexion. His ſtrong long beard, and beautiful black hair, are here and there mixed with grey very thinly ſcattered. His carriage is as light, and he holds himſelf as ſtraight as a youth in his full ſtrength. His forehead, and the whole formation of his countenance is regular, and his large blue ſpeaking eyes, muſt fix the attention of any one the leaſt acquainted with mankind upon him. An inexpreſſible ſerenity of ſoul, and the pride inſeparable from a great

a great character, are pictured in his countenance. I desired to hear him tell his history, and now give it you from his own words, as nearly as I can.

'I have been now,' said he, 'twenty-four 'years a prisoner here. I still remember the 'emigration of the many thousands of my coun-'trymen, in which, though I was then but 'young, I took great concern. As I grew 'up, the memory of this event made the 'strongest impression on me. The joy with 'which so many of my neighbours quitted 'their native country, to shun any force on 'their consciences, and be unrestrained and 'free in their faith, had something great and 'affecting in it to me. This made the re-'monstrances of my friends and acquaintances, 'who did not agree in opinion with the capu-'chins, find an easy access to my mind. I 'opened the Scriptures, compared the doctrine 'I met with there with the Pope's, and formed 'my own religion, the principles of which I did 'not keep very secret, because I believed them 'true. As at that time the capuchins, who 'wandered about the whole country as mission-'aries, had spies every where, they could not 'fail but hear at last of some assertions which 'escaped me in the heat of religious disputa-

'tion.

'tation. They instantly pursued and perse-
'cuted me wherever I was. At last they came
'into my house, and insisted on a confession
'of my faith. I answered according to my con-
'viction, and laid my doubts before them; how-
'ever this did not signify. They constantly went
'from the point; it was of no avail to interro-
'gate them on matters of faith; faith must be
'implicit, and I must deliver a confession of
'faith. I told them it was utterly impossible
'to believe what was contrary to the conviction
'of my mind; but all did not serve.

'When I saw that they could not convince me,
'and that they paid no regard to my internal
'conviction, I told them to leave me in peace, and
'staked my honour and my life to them that I
'would conceal my religious opinions, nor make
'any converts to them. This was in vain; every
'day they rudely broke into my house, and pressed
'me to a confession of faith which belied my con-
'science. Sir, I did all that was possible to ob-
'tain peace from them, but it was impossible.
'One day, as I returned fatigued from the field,
'and was going to refresh myself with some
'provision, the capuchins came again riot-
'ously into my house. I had for some time
'before this resolved not to say a word to
'them, except good day or good evening. As

'they

'they began their old clamour again, I heard 'them a long time compoſed and quiet, and 'took my fare with better reliſh the more they 'curſed me. However, as there appeared to be 'no end of it, I retired into a corner behind 'the oven, to let them rail as long as they pleaſed. 'But even there I was not ſecure; at laſt I threw 'myſelf impatiently on the bed, and as one of 'them approached me even here, and dunned 'in my ears, I turned my back to him, but 'immediately there was another of them at the 'other ſide, who made a ſtill more horrid clack 'than his companion. At laſt I became enraged, 'and told them I was maſter in my own houſe, 'and, as they continued ſtill to behave worſe and 'worſe, I ſprung up, ſeized the firſt thing I 'could lay hold of, which I believe was a broom, 'and beat them out of my houſe. I was now 'treated not only as an obdurate heretic, but 'as a blaſphemer who had laid ſacrilegious 'hands upon the holy prieſts. They took me 'priſoner, and brought me here in chains. At 'firſt I ſuffered dreadfully. A hundred times I 'ſaid, if they would only convince me, I would 'confeſs with heart and ſoul. But it was all to 'no purpoſe. They endeavoured to force me 'to go into the church to confeſs, to reveal my 'opinions on religion, &c. I told them I could

'publiſh nothing further of my religion, than 'that I did not believe what they believed. 'They either would or could not convince me, 'and I then became impatient to go to the 'church, but they told me I could not be per-'mitted, unleſs it was for the purpoſe of chang-'ing my faith and confeſſing my errors. The 'inceſſant importunity of the capuchins for a 'confeſſion of faith from me was the moſt inſuf-'ferable of all. All my ſolicitations to be in-'dulged, and all remonſtrances of the futility of 'a verbal confeſſion unleſs the heart joined in it, 'were of no ſervice. At laſt I reſolved to be-'have like a mute and hold no more diſcourſe 'with them; which reſolution, for eighteen 'whole years, I have literally perſiſted in; a 'few years ago they begun to treat me more 'kindly, and ſince that time I have reſumed my 'ſpeech.'

The conſtable confirmed to us that this extraordinary man had not uttered a ſyllable for eighteen whole years; and that during that time no one had ever ſeen a cloud upon his brow, or a feature of ill-humour in his countenance. Whatever was enjoined him to do, which did not concern religion, he complied with calmly and always chearfully. A ſlight caſt of diſdain of the people about him is all that has been

been remarked. When one conſiders that his clearneſs of head, his open nature and good humour, muſt very naturally and very ſtrongly diſpoſe him to ſociety and the communication of his ſentiments, his voluntary dumbneſs muſt appear aſtoniſhing. By his good behaviour during his captivity, he has induced the prince, who is a great lover of toleration, to let his chains be taken off, and at the requeſt of the conſtable a conſiderable addition has been made to his daily allowance. He has gained ſo much confidence, that they have made him a kind of ſuperintendant over his fellow priſoners. He has often been ſent entirely looſe and free to work with them at places from whence it would have been eaſy for him to have eſcaped; but his character is a better ſecurity for his perſon than the ſtrongeſt chains. He has procured to himſelf, without being ſenſible of it himſelf, ſo much reſpect from his brother captives, that with a ſingle word he can keep them better in awe than the jailor with his ſtaff. Nature has ſecured to him a ſuperiority over the multitude of mankind, although ſhe bred him in a cottage. His leiſure hours are at preſent employed in teaching a young incendiary, who has lain for ſome years in priſon,

priſon, in chains, for wickedly ſetting fire to his father's houſe, to read and to write, without however inſtilling into him any of his religious opinions. Theſe he preſerves ſo ſecret at preſent, that I could not with the moſt confidential entreaties, and all my prayers and petitions, obtain any diſcloſure from him. All he anſwered was, 'I do not believe what the capu-'chins believe, and want nothing but a bible 'to lead a contented life.' Some years ago his wife was permitted to ſee him; but, without ſhewing the ſmalleſt deſire to enjoy her, after ſome warm and kind exhortations for her welfare, he diſmiſſed her. A bible, after which his ſoul thirſts ſo ardently, they are backward to allow him, becauſe they are unwilling to add any more flame to his enthuſiaſm. All the Saltzburg ladies and gentlemen, in whoſe company I had the honour of ſeeing him, diſcovered the higheſt reſpect for him; but they were all unanimous in declaring that it had not been very political conduct to become a martyr for ſo ſmall a matter as was demanded of him.

The country people here are uncommonly lively and gay. The young women of theſe ſequeſtered corners of our continent all freſh as roſes, and lively as the roe, yet underſtand the

the art of coquetry as well as our Pariſian dames, only the allurements which they diſplay for conqueſt are more natural. They know how to employ the ornamental parts of dreſs to the beſt advantage. If they are diſpoſed to make a lover happy, neither the ſhame of an illegitimate birth, nor the fear of being obliged to maintain a child, is of any conſideration. Cuſtom ſets them above the firſt, and the eaſe of maintaining a child makes them diſregard the other. The puniſhment which they incur for ſuch a *faux-pas* is hardly worth mentioning. Murder of infants is extremely uncommon here; without conſtraint, without reſerve, they all yield to the impulſes of nature. The young girls kiſs and ſhake hands, in the open church on Sundays, with thoſe they love. On a nightly viſit, however, the lover is rather in a hard ſituation; for however unfriendly the weather may be, the window or door is not opened to him, until a certain watch-word is given, which conſiſts commonly of long rhymes, in which he is obliged to expreſs, in a myſterious manner, his ſufferings and ſmart. This cuſtom is very old, and in many of the remote parts of the mountains ſacred and inviolable. Nor can the connection between the parties, however long or however

however close, enable them to dispense with it. A young peasant very seldom forsakes his girl, particularly when, after having two or three children by her, he can marry her.

The inhabitants of these mountains are so contented with their state, that they consider their country as a kind of Paradise. Those who live in Dintner Valley, a frightful pass between naked rocks, through which the river Dintner runs, have a saying, 'When any one falls from 'heaven he must fall into Dintner Valley.' Which is as much as to say this valley is the second heaven. For a long time I could not explain why the good people entertained such a high opinion of a deep glen, where often for weeks together it snows so much that one can neither come out nor go in, and which forms so striking a contrast with many neighbouring and very attracting districts. I considered it at first as irony, but I learnt at last it was meant entirely in earnest, and that the unlimited freedom which the inhabitants of this extraordinary Paradise enjoy had given rise to this high hyperbole. They consist solely of shepherds, miners, and iron melters, who are entirely free from taxes, and, on account of their small payments to the government and their remoteness of situation,

ſituation, are little taken notice of by their ſuperiors. The taxes paid, in general, by the inhabitants of this country are very moderate, and the freedom from the extortions under which the reſt of Germany groans, contributes, no doubt, greatly to the good humour of the people. Till within a ſhort time, eſtates were taxed in proportion to their value, the beginning of this century, which, as you may ſuppoſe, bears no proportion to the preſent price of things. The attempt the preſent ſovereign has been making to raiſe a more equitable tax, has occaſioned ſome murmur: there, however, he is not ſo much to blame, as his income is proportionably much ſmaller than that of the other German princes; and what he has done has not only the ſanction of the ſtates of the country, but is guaranteed by them, ſo that the people have no cauſe to fear a farther riſe; but what makes him unpopular is, his exceſſive love of hunting, which has occaſioned ſome acts of oppreſſive power, for which, after all, his ſervants and miniſters may be more to blame than himſelf. In ſeveral parts of the country, the farmers are prohibited from driving their ſheep to certain paſtures bordering upon woods, leſt the game in theſe ſhould be deprived of ſuſtenance. This, to a people who, as I told you before,

make all the woollen cloth they wear from the ſheerings of their own ſheep, muſt appear an intolerable hardſhip. Prohibitions of this kind muſt alſo be attended with very bad effects of another ſort. The peaſants of this country are very averſe to all kinds of innovation; there have been inſtances of their declaring ſomewhat loudly, that they would put themſelves on the ſame footing with the Swiſs; and yet when their prince dies of old age, they ſhew an uncommon affection for him. O that princes knew how to ſet a due value on the affections of their fellow-creatures!

Many of the peaſants of this country ſtill wear long beards, and go with their heads uncovered, and their breaſts open, at all times of the year. As they are extremely hairy, and very much ſun-burnt, this gives them a very formidable appearance at ſome diſtance, but when you come near them, their friendly looks, and appearance of integrity, recommend them very ſtrongly. They are courageous and ſtrong, and would, no doubt, make a ſtout ſtand in defence of their own country; but out of it, according to the report of the beſt officers, they do not make good ſoldiers. Like all its inhabitants of mountains, they do not bear climate well. Beſides this, the peculiarity of diet which they have been

uſed to from their youth, and are obliged to give up in the field, makes them unfit for ſervice. By good fortune their ſovereign has little concern in keeping up the balance of Europe. In general, they are much more civil than the Swiſs, and by no means ſo thirſty of gain as theſe are, who, however hoſtile they may be to paying taxes themſelves, never fail to lay ſtrangers under very ſevere ones. I have ſeveral times been ſhewn my way, and received other ſmall ſervices from theſe people, without being able to make them take any thing for their trouble. Fare ye well.

LETTER XVI.

Saltſburg.

IN Pilati's Journey through different Parts of Europe, I remember to have read an anecdote, intended to paint the intolerant ſpirit of the Saltſburghers.—It is indeed very true, that perſons of all ranks are obliged to kneel down in the ſtreets, when the hoſt paſſes by, a ceremony made particularly diſtreſſing, by the peculiar brutality of the Sacriſtans of the place. I have likewiſe heard ſome good hearted girls lament, with a moſt ſerious tone of compaſſion, that ſome friends of mine, who have been here

a few days, are proteſtants. Except, however, the kneeling to the ſacrament, which every man may eaſily prevent, as the bell is heard at a great diſtance, I do not ſee what a proteſtant has to be apprehenſive of. There are many companies in every rank of life, into which a ſtranger may be admitted, let his religion be what it will. Money, and good words, will procure you meat, in moſt of the inns, on faſt days; and the people, who, eſpecially in ſuch places, mimic the manners of their ſuperiors, have loſt much of the ferocious and intolerant ſpirit they had contracted under a bigotted prince.

There is very good company to be met with amongſt the nobility, particularly amongſt the canons, ſeveral of whom are diſtinguiſhed for knowledge of various kinds. The preſent metropolitan, who is brother to the well known Count Firmian, the governor of Milan, is well acquainted with the beſt Italian, French, German, and Engliſh writers. He has almoſt a compleat collection of the latter in his well choſen library. He is a moſt amiable man, and makes the beſt uſe of his benefices, which bring him in an income of 20,000 guilders, or 2000 pounds a year. The high ſteward, who is another brother of the governor's, is a great lover of painting, and a deep connoiſſeur in it.

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His fine collection of the portraits of artiſts, moſt of which are painted by himſelf, is hardly inferior to that of Florence. The ſhock this gentleman lately felt from one of the ſevereſt afflictions which can ſtrike a father's heart, has weakened the powers of his ſoul, and ſpread a cloud over the not to be deſcribed and almoſt infantine goodneſs, that beams upon his countenance. He had an eldeſt ſon, the hopes of the family, and a very promiſing young man, who was already dean of Paſſau, and bade fair to be a biſhop, if not archbiſhop of Saltſburg. His father made him a viſit, and took him out a hunting. They were on different ſides of the hedge, when unluckily the father gave fire, and ſhot the ſon through the heart. As ſoon as he had done it, he ſprung through the hedge like a madman, tore his hair, and wallowed in the ſnow. They were obliged to tear him away from the place by force. Count Woltfegg, another of the canons, has taken a journey through France, purpoſely with a view of becoming acquainted with our manufactures. This gentleman is well known to our beſt artiſts, but his particular paſſion is botany, in which he is very excellent. The groom of the ſtole, Count Kuenburg, is a very ſenſible man, extremely pleaſant, witty, and ſociable. His library, in the formation of which he has not

conſulted the *Index librorum prohibitorum*; contains all our beſt authors. The biſhop of Chienſee, the count of Tieb, and ſeveral more of the high nobility are reſpectable, both on account of their knowledge and virtues. The upper nobility of the place is made up chiefly of Auſtrian families, who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their affability, their knowledge of the world, and their manners, from the ſtupidly proud Bavarian and Suabian barons. On the other hand, the leſſer nobility, the ſwarm of little court gentry, render themſelves ridiculous by their pitiable luſt after titles, and their wretched pride. You muſt here viſit about a hundred *Gnadige herrn* *, who live upon three or four hundred florins a year, which they receive from the court, but whom you cannot offend more than by calling them plain Sir, or their wives plain Madam. A man who lives here muſt accuſtom himſelf to put in *Gnadige herrn* at every third word, unleſs he chooſes to paſs for ill-bred. Such, however, is the aſtoniſhing poverty of this claſs of people, that you viſit ſeveral *Gnadige herrn*, who take up with houſekeepers places, or the office of ſiſters in the hoſpitals. They all complain that the court doth not give them enough to live according to their rank; but, unluckily, I have never been able to find out what

* German title of nobleſſe, which means, Gracious Sir.

what their rank is. Moſt of them have neither eſtates nor money; but they would look upon it as a great degradation to ſuffer their children to be brought up to any trade or buſineſs. The court is therefore compelled to make their appointments as ſlender as poſſible, that it may be able to keep them from ſtarving; though above two-thirds of them are ſuperfluous ſervants. Their rank, therefore, ſeems to depend on the pleaſure of the court to feed a great number of uſeleſs ſervants, and on their impudent confidence in that pleaſure. Once, however, give them their right titles, and you will find them the beſt people in the world. Many of them amuſe themſelves with French and German literature, particularly with all that relates to the ſtage. The rage for the theatre is as violent here as it is at Munich; and they look for the coming of a company of ſtrollers, with as much eagerneſs as the inhabitants of Siberia look for the return of ſpring. A French engineer, in the prince's ſervice, has built them a pretty theatre. It is adorned with columns, which ſupport nothing but a black board before the curtain, with the arms of the prince on it. Upon the whole, knowledge ſeems to be more diffuſed here than it is at Munich. Though the governor is an eccleſiaſtic, there are not near ſo many cloiſters,

in proportion to the ſize of the two places, as in Bavaria; and the eccleſiaſtics of this place are very advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed from the others, by good manners, humility, an endeavour to live up to their character, and other virtues. Government is likewiſe much better underſtood here than it is at Munich. Too much cannot be ſaid of the head of the preſent prince, but of his heart—I know nothing. He knows that he is not beloved by the Saltſburghers, and for that reaſon neglects them, and ſhuts himſelf up. I believe the complaints made of him to be much too violent. They accuſe him of ſending above 300,000 florins to his family at Vienna, every year, and part of the ſtates of the city, that is, almoſt all the chapter of the cathedral, have brought actions againſt him, in the imperial court of Vienna, for taking the ready money out of the cheſt, and filling it with paper, which they cannot change into caſh. I do not know how far the charge made by this reſpectable chapter may be well grounded; but it is certain, that he has diſplayed an uncommon depth of acuteneſs and penetration, in his defence of himſelf. Several of the preſent canons were hoſtile to him, from his firſt coming to the archbiſhopric, which they had enter-

entertained hopes of themſelves, and which was procured for him by the court of Vienna. Suppoſing him, however, to rob the country of part of its property, it is certain that he diſpoſes of the reſt to the beſt advantage. He has founded ſeveral good ſeminaries of education. He is not at all partial to his own order, as appears from his having taken away at a ſtroke 100,000 florins from the Auguſtinian monks. One half of this he put in his own pocket, the other half he has given to the public. As in every thing elſe, ſo alſo in his paſſion for hunting, the only paſſion he has, he is extremely parſimonious. A batallion of the fineſt ſoldiers I have hitherto beheld, diſciplined in the Auſtrian manner, and the officers of which are attached to him, ſecures him from all accidents.

Every thing here breathes the air of pleaſure and joy. They eat, drink, laugh, dance, ſing, and gamble in the extreme; nor have I yet ſeen a place where you may have ſo many different pleaſures for ſo little money. They converſe here upon religious and political topics, with a freedom that does honour to the place; and with regard to books, you may have almoſt every thing which the German preſſes produce, without any reſtraint.

One

One of the reſorts of pleaſure is the garden of Hellbron, belonging to the prince, which is about three miles off, and where they ſell beer and wine. The moſt remarkable thing, except ſome very fine marble ſtatues, is a very large park, in the midſt of which is a hill.

The univerſity of this place is kept up by the congregation of Benedictines, who ſupply it with profeſſors. As having ſtudied here, is a kind of requiſite for preferment to the ſubjects of the Suabian prelates of the empire, it is a place of great reſort for theſe; but there are few ſtudents beſides theſe and the natives, though the chairs are filled with able men. The funds of the univerſity are, indeed, too ſmall to make it poſſible for all the objects, which the literature of the preſent day embraces, to be properly taken care of. They do not amount in all to above 5000 florins, or 500l. per annum.

I do not know what to ſay about the national pride, for which theſe people are ſo much cenſured. With regard to myſelf, I reſpect whatever at all contributes to the happineſs of mankind, how ſmall and inſignificant ſoever it may appear. How wretched ſhould we be, if we were to be robbed of the pleaſant play of our fancies! The inhabitants of this country are extremely angry, if you call them Bavarians.

I had

I had conceived to myſelf, that as their country is within that circle, they were as true Bavarians as the Wirtembergers are Suabians; but I was told that the compariſon with the Suabians did not hold, for that no particular part of Suabia is properly called Suabia; whereas the circle of Bavaria, taking its name from the dukedom which conſtitutes the greateſt part of it; might as well have been called the circle of Saltſburg. All I can make out clearly from this is, that the Saltſburghers will have nothing to do with the Bavarians, whom they conſider as infinitely inferior to them. Indeed it is true, that there is a little more taſte, a little more *ſcavoir vivre*, and a little leſs bigotry in this place, than in Bavaria; but the rating themſelves ſo exceſſively high, and degrading the Bavarians below the rank of wild beaſts, is undoubtedly owing to the good fairy Phantaſy. At leaſt, the gentlemen and ladies ought to remember, that if the horizon is a little clearer here, at preſent, than it is all around them, it is entirely owing to the preſent archbiſhop, who, with his holy rod, has diſpelled the magic darkneſs of ſuperſtition in his domains. A revolution of the ſame kind may raiſe the Bavarians much above what they now are in a ſhort time. Indeed, there are ſtill ſymptoms enough here of the

the darkneſs which totally overſpread the place fifteen or twenty years ago. The priſons allotted to eccleſiaſtics have in them a prieſt, who, ſome time ſince, in order to impreſs his pariſh with a greater hatred of ſin, and a greater fear of the devil, dreſſed up the ſchool-maſter of the place like Beelzebub, and in the midſt of ſervice called him up from a hiding-place he had provided for him, to bear witneſs to the truth.

This country is ſingularly intereſting to a botaniſt, or mineralogiſt; but having the misfortune, unluckily, to be very little known, the diſcovery of the treaſures contained in it is reſerved for futurity, when either a man of genius ſhall addict himſelf to theſe purſuits, or the ſwarm of idle travellers, who hover, like cock-chafers, alternately about the Appenines, the Alps, Ætna, and the Pyreneans, ſhall at length for once take their flight to theſe parts, and by their cry excite ſome foreign genius to the taſk. The Zillerthal is particularly rich in different ſorts of variegated ſtones, and in many parts of the hills you meet with very ſcarce European plants. In fine, there is room for weaving many an hypotheſis on the plants of the hills, on the work and production of the waters in them, and on the revolutions of nature that may ſtill be expected.

Before

Before I diſmiſs you, I muſt give you ſome account of a marquiſate in the Holy Roman Empire, which hardly a geographer amongſt us is acquainted with the exiſtence of. It is the marquiſate of *Berchtolſgaden*, of which there is a fine view from the top of the *Unterberge*, which is its limit to the north. It conſiſts of a ſmall narrow vale, encompaſſed around with rocks, and hardly contains 3000 ſouls. The place is broken by ſome lakes, and the lower part of the hills is covered with deep woods. A few days ago, we had an excellent dinner in one of the large iſlands of the lake, made up of fiſh we had caught in it, ſome exquiſite veniſon, and Tyrol wine.—Mark, that there is no deficiency of cooks in the moſt diſtant and ſequeſtered nooks of this country.

The nature of this country being favourable neither to agriculture nor paſture, the inhabitants have given themſelves to works of art, which fail mankind in no part of the earth, and are mighty and powerful enough to turn the hardeſt ſtones into bread. It is in theſe remote vallies that they make the greateſt part of the toys, with which Nurenberg and Augſburg carry on ſo conſiderable a trade. The horſes with ſpurs, little raſps, cuckows, wooden mannakins, rats, and mice, and all the play-things for

for little children; alſo the crucifixes, draw quadrille boxes, powder and pomatum boxes, and all the play-things for great children; in a word, the greater part of the articles which go, amongſt us, under the name of German toys, come out of this gulph. It is a pretty ſight enough to behold two or three families, gathered together in a hut, and to ſee the great plump hands of the farmers occupied in giving a finiſh to the ſmalleſt articles. There is occupation for the grey-headed, as well as for prattling infancy. The very ſmall price for which the makers part with theſe commodities, makes it impoſſible for them to accumulate riches; but they have enough, and are happy with it. Theſe good people little think that their productions are brought to us, and that the Spaniards drive a very profitable trade with them, in both the Indies. A ſmall part of theſe people alſo occupy themſelves in ſalt making; but as it muſt all be carried through Bavaria, which abounds in the commodity, they part with it for a ſong. In this article they ſuffer much from a powerful neighbour on the Saltſburg ſide; for Saltſburg has extended its ſalt mines far beyond the limits that part the two countries; and though the marquis has made ſeveral remonſtrances, no body has attended to his complaints.

Beſides

Besides this country, the marquis of *Bertochsgatten* poſſeſſes ſome eſtates in Auſtria and Bavaria; the value of which altogether may amount to about 60,000 guilders per annum; but the diſſipation of former marquiſſes has occaſioned the contraction of a large debt.

LETTER XVII.

Paſſaw.

I SAILED hither from Saltſburg, on the Saltza and Inn. Water journies have great allurements for me, from the variety of company one generally meets with in them. The veſſel was very full as far as Burghauſen. Here a great part of my companions got out, to go on a pilgrimage to the neighbouring Ottingen. The pilgrims conſiſted of a great number of young perſons of both ſexes, who ſeemed to have far other purpoſes than thoſe of expiating their *old* offences. As we ſpent the night together at the inn at Burghauſen, I had opportunity enough to ſee that there would be a great weight added to the former load.

There ſtill remained company enough on board for my entertainment. I met with no great entertainment from ſome Auſtrian recruits,

and

and ſome ſtudents, who were going away for the vacation: but a *gnadige fràu**, from Saltſburg, who was going to Vienna, with a view of getting into a cook's or chambermaid's place, which her rank did not ſuffer to accept of in her own country, made up to me, and was very good company. This good girl ſo entirely won my heart by her ingenuity, her taſte, her good heart, and her variety of knowledge, that I deſired ſhe would call upon me at Vienna, and let me know in what I could ſerve her. A young woman, who leaves home for the firſt time, muſt feel herſelf ſadly diſtreſſed in the midſt of a large city.

We paſſed the boundaries that part Auſtria and Bavaria. The ſmall part of Bavaria to our right, which has lately come into the poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians, does not make more than thirty-eight German miles, and hardly contains 60,000 men. The revenue it furniſhes is about 18,000 rix-dollars, ſo that it hardly ſeems worth the eighth part of the expence which Auſtria has been at in the attempt to gain it. The views, however, which this court had in this undertaking, are far more extenſive than was thought by the court of Verſailles, where the whole was conſidered

* Titled woman.

ſidered as a diſpute about a nutſhell. This is not the firſt time that the King of Pruſſia has been obliged to apprize our wiſe miniſter of the conſequences which the ſteps of certain courts would draw after them, conſequences which would otherwiſe certainly have been overlooked. When the Court of Auſtria found the King of Pruſſia as formidable an adverſary with his pen, as with his ſword, and were compelled by the light given to Ruſſia, to have recourſe to negociation, they pretended that they wanted to make the Inn under Waſſenburg the limit betwixt Bavaria and their dominions, and from thence to penetrate into Bohemia by the Iſer, the Danube, and the Upper Palatinate; and in return for this they propoſed to cede ſome of their poſſeſſions in Suabia, to the Court of Munich. Our miniſter the Baron de Breteuil would gladly have conſented to this exchange; but the accurate knowledge which the King of Pruſſia had of the advantages and ſituation of theſe countries, enabled him to open the eyes of our court and of Ruſſia. He ſhewed them that Auſtrian Suabia could be no equivalent for a great part of Bavaria, becauſe the income which the Auſtrian country yielded was already the higheſt that could be got from it; whereas the lands in Bavaria, conſi-

dering the bad cultivation of them at that time, might eaſily be made capable of producing much more than what they were eſtimated at. He ſhewed them that Auſtria would be a conſiderable gainer by the exchange, which would effectually put it in poſſeſſion of Bavaria, by giving it the ſalt-pits at Reicheſhall, and the trade for the Saltſburg ſalts; that by this means it would not only poſſeſs itſelf of the remainder of Bavaria, but render Suabia, and a great part of Switzerland dependant on it for a very important commodity; that Saltſburg and Paſſau would, in fact, though not in appearance, become dependant on the Court of Vienna, and that finally the Palatinate, reſtrained as it already is, by the poſſeſſions of Auſtria on all ſides of it, would have no power at all, and be entirely unable to make any efforts whatever.

Theſe repreſentations were attended with ſuch effect, that the Emperor was obliged to put off the *making his German dominions ſquare*, to a more favourable opportunity. I am of opinion, however, that ſooner or later Bavaria muſt bow to the Auſtrian yoke, however reluctant it may be to the operation. As a citizen of the world, and a friend to mankind, who,

who, when the fate of a large country is at ſtake, always conſider more the advantage of my fellow creatures than any other circumſtance whatever, I wiſh that this alteration may ſoon take place. A much better government than they at preſent have, or are likely to poſſeſs whilſt they remain a ſeparate people, would not put the Bavarians in poſſeſſion of the advantages they may expect from the uniting with Auſtria; the natural conſequences of which will be certain peace, a much more extenſive outlet for all their country produces, and the enjoyment of many things which providence has denied to them, but beſtowed plentifully upon Auſtria. Now, if you add to all theſe permanent and perpetual bleſſings, the preſent good to be expected from the ſyſtem of government adopted by the family which now ſits on the Imperial throne, the well wiſhers of Bavaria cannot help hoping to ſee the pretenſions of that court enforced by a mightier arm.

Paſſau is a very miſerable, and, thoſe parts only excepted which lie about the Danube, and near the reſidence of the Prince, a very ill built town. It relies for ſubſiſtence on the court, (the income of which is eſtimated at about 220,000 florins, or 22,000l.) and on the canons, whoſe benefices are ſome of the fat-

teſt in all Germany. A ſtall here is ſuppoſed to be worth more than 3000 florins *per annum*; whereas thoſe of Saltſburg are not worth more than 2600. But beſides this, it is to be conſidered that almoſt every canon poſſeſſes two, three, or four prebends, and is a member of one or more of the Chapters of Saltſburg, Augſburgh, Ratiſbon, and other places; ſo that there are few canons in Germany whoſe incomes are not more than 5000 florins *per annum*. The inhabitants of theſe ſeveral holy cities are all much alike, as drinking and wenching are their great occupations; and the poverty and good humour, which ſeldom forſake thoſe who are thus addicted, render them affable, obſequious, and humble. The cathedral is a fine Gothic building, which well deſerves to be ſeen. The juriſdiction of the biſhop, who is dependant only on the Pope, extends almoſt to Vienna, but his authority in Auſtria is already very much limited. In time it will be confined to his own doors, as the Imperial Court (to judge by what it has already done on the ſide of Venice) ſeems determined to render its territory as independent as may be, of all foreign ſpiritual juriſdiction. There are fine china manufactures and potteries in this country; the produce of the former is carried as far as the Rhine.

Some

Some writers upon Switzerland have contended, that the Danube riſes in this country, and not in Suabia. Their principal reaſon for ſaying ſo is, that where the Inn joins the Danube at this place, the firſt of theſe two ſtreams has a greater body of water than the other. Suppoſe for a moment the fact to be true, ſtill it would be a diſpute of words; for who will refuſe the public the privilege of calling a river by whatever name it pleaſes? Let it be called what it will at its ſource, the river Brege in the Black Foreſt, which when it meets the Danube is certainly much the largeſt of the two, is nevertheleſs obliged to give up its name to it:—but the very plea on which the Swiſs ground their pretenſions is only a deception. It is impoſſible to take a very ſmall part of any river from a given place for the full meaſure of its greatneſs. The difference of ſoil in the bed, a ſtronger ſtream, and a variety of other circumſtances, make the maſs of water in a river very different at different places. Here, when the Danube meets the Inn, the former is cramped up by hills; whereas the other running free, is of courſe much wider. But the Danube contains far more water upon equal ground, and far above Ratiſbon, before it has

received the great rivers Allmuh, Nob, Regen, and Zier, is already a much mightier river than the Inn, which does not gain a great deal by the acceſſion of the very unſteady and irregular Saltza, betwixt Waſſenburg and Inſpruck. Without doubt, therefore, Suabia has the honour of being the birth place of the mighty Danube, with which only the Volga amongſt the European rivers can meaſure itſelf. If you come now to compare the *whole* courſe of the two rivers (which join here), from the ſource to the place of meeting, the Inn, by reaſon of its windings, certainly runs over more ground, but it is not to be compared with the Danube for width. Till it comes under Chuffſtein the Inn flows in a very narrow valley; whereas the Danube domineers over the whole plain of Suabia and Bavaria. The Iller and the Lech, by having run into the Danube during a long way, ſoon become as conſiderable as the Inn is at Inſpruck. This laſt river being confined to a very narrow valley receives no nouriſhment but from ſmall ſtreams; whilſt the Danube gathers all the fatneſs of one of the richeſt lands poſſible in water, during a length of upwards of forty, and a breadth of twenty miles.

The courſe I have hitherto purſued in my journey through Germany has carried me through three

three large plains reſpectively watered by the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube. The firſt of theſe is bounded by the Bogeſian hills and the Black Foreſt, which run parallel from North to South. By the Black Foreſt it is covered from the cold Eaſt winds, and the different arms of theſe parallel hills, likewiſe, defend it from the ungentle influences of the North. It enjoys an even and temperate climate, which allows the vineyards to ripen admirably. The plain of the Neckar is of the ſame temperature as this laſt: But the immenſe plain of the Danube lies expoſed to the blaſt of every wind under heaven. The greateſt part of it is expoſed to the North and North-Eaſt, as is viſible by the courſe of the Rivers Iller, Lech, and the Iſer. Here Father Bacchus's power can avail nothing againſt the fierceneſs of Boreas and the North. Many attempts have been made to plant vines on the Iſer and Danube below Ratiſbon, but hitherto they have only produced grapes for eating; I believe that this whole tract of country is too full of wood and water for the vine to ripen in it. But after all, what was Suabia and the country about the Rhine in the times of Tacitus? Little did the Romans think that the vine could grow in Germany. Did they not

even doubt whether fruit could grow there? And yet Suabia now produces lordly vines, which may diſpute for excellence with the Falernian, and all the Roman wines; and the ſtill wilder Bavaria has plenty of good corn.

The fact is, that the air of a country changes with the cultivation; the drying up of marſhes renders it warmer. The evaporation, too, occaſioned by numbers who live together, may work on the air. No doubt but in time ſtill more ſucceſsful experiments with the grape will be made in Bavaria. The ſlopes of the hills on the left ſide of the Danube, betwixt this place and Ratiſbon, promiſe a good place to plant the vine in, as they are well guarded from the noxious winds; and the wine, which is actually made in the country about Paſſau, truly merits the name of wine.

This large vale of the Danube, which at this place is covered to the right by the arm of Bavaria, and to the left by the Styrian hills, produces likewiſe the beſt kind of corn. It would very eaſily nouriſh as many men again as it actually does. Corn is often ſo cheap in Bavaria, as hardly to pay the farmer for the trouble of raiſing it: one hundred and ſeventy pounds of rye are frequently ſold for about two florins.

Navigation

Navigation is by no means ſo well underſtood in this country as it is upon the Upper Rhine; they do not yet underſtand how to ſail according to the direction of the river. Moſt of the veſſels which go by here come from Ratiſbon and Ulm: they are without decks or maſts; they are built only of fir boards, and are ſold again either at Vienna or elſewhere. The Emperor has promiſed great rewards to ſuch maſters of veſſels as will build their veſſels like thoſe on the Rhine; but in this, as in every thing elſe, it is difficult to make the mechanical part of the public tread the track they have not been accuſtomed to.

As the navigation of the upper parts of the river is not yet eſtabliſhed, there is often a want of horſes at particular ſtages, ſo that you are frequently obliged to hire horſes for the whole journey, though there are ſeveral places in which you might do very well without them. The veſſels on the Rhine have the convenience of being able to go ſometimes with two, and ſometimes with ſix horſes, according as the wind and ſtreams happen to be favourable. They are obliged for this to the conſtant navigation of the river, which enables the people who inhabit the ſhore to have hackney horſes at ſmall diſtances from each other. Some of

theſe

theſe obſtacles will fall away of themſelves as ſoon as the commerce of the country about the Danube grows more conſiderable; the largeſt ſhip which goes from this place to Vienna carries 2000 quintals, which is about the load of a two-maſted veſſel. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

Lintz.

I Waited at Paſſau for the veſſel that goes every week from Ratiſbon, and meant to have gone as far as Vienna in her; but the people ſtopt ſo often in the calmeſt weather, under pretence of fearing an approaching ſtorm, that my patience was quite worn out. I could very well ſee that their true motive in ſtopping thus often, was to get rid of ſome of their contraband goods in the ſmall places on the coaſt. Beſides this, my company had but ſmall charms for me; it conſiſted of a number of mechanics, who worked their paſſage, and of farmers daughters, who were going to Vienna for a ſervice. Many of theſe were obviouſly with child, and ſeemed to have left their country in order to be delivered, with leſs ſhame and expence, in the

the hoſpital at Vienna. Auſtria is generally ſupplied with a plentiful number of recruits of this kind from this ſide. Such ſociety not being at all to my mind, and on the other hand the city of Lintz, with the country round, preſenting a fair proſpect of amuſement, I could not reſiſt the temptation of giving up a few days to become better acquainted with it.

At Engellhaſtzell our baggage was ſearched. Every thing was conducted in the beſt order poſſible, and with a great deal of gentleneſs; the putting the cuſtom-houſe ſeals to the merchandize of our veſſel took up a whole day. It is ſtill a riddle to me how the ſhip's company contrived to paſs their contraband commodities (of the exiſtence of which I was well aſſured); for the cuſtom-houſe officers did not appear to me to be of a ſort to ſuffer themſelves to be bribed: as for me, the ſearchers directed their whole attention to my books; they took away from me Young's Night Thoughts, which I had purchaſed, out of compaſſion, from a poor ſtudent at Saltſburg, but ſuffered Gibbon's Works to paſs. You know the laſt. The firſt is an excellent Chriſtian, but his invective, not againſt the Catholics in general, but againſt thoſe only who would not allow him to bury his child, has placed him amongſt the Machiavels, Spinozas, and Bolingbrokes.

How

How ridiculous a thing does every *index expurgatorius* in the world appear, when one ſees, as one often does, that the bare title often damns a book; and when one conſiders, that no college of cenſors upon earth is equal to the taſk of reading over all the books that come out, ſo as to be able to give timely orders for ſtopping them on the frontiers of the country! Gibbon is a declared enemy to religion, and yet has been able to make his way into Auſtria!

In truth, this is the only weak part of the Imperial government. The prohibition of books only ſerves to raiſe their price in the country. In Switzerland, as well as at Inſpruck, Saltſburg, and many other places, I was aſſured, that large quantities of forbidden books were every year introduced into Auſtria from this ſide of the frontier. Officers of the firſt rank, preſidents, and counſellors, take a ſhare in this trade; nor has the prohibition any other effect than making a Bailé's Dictionary (for inſtance), the true price of which is five guineas, ſell at Vienna for 100 *thalers*; and for this price you may have enough of them. No doubt the ſame trade is carried on, from the Saxon and Sileſian ſides of the country.

As ſoon as you ſet your foot on Auſtrian ground,

you begin to find that another ſyſtem of government prevails from what you have lately been accuſtomed to ſee.

The farmers' houſes, their clothing, their tools, their agriculture, every thing about them, is better than in Bavaria. Yeſterday, I ſaw ſome farmers going to market in calaſhes. They had all the appearance of rich Engliſh, or North-Holland farmers. Their looks, their well fed horſes, and their whole apparatus, beſpoke a degree of opulence, which their long, brown, but very neat coats; their large ſhoes without buckles; and their large ſhort cut hats, did not ſeem to promiſe. They call theſe farmers here, *landers*, and their great numbers do the legiſlature much credit. You meet, indeed, now and then with beggars, who ſolicit your compaſſion for a bride or bridegroom juſt married; but this is more a compliance with an old eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country than a matter of neceſſity. The large grey or black felt hats, as well as their whole clothing, make the farmers' daughters look very handſome.

Upper Auſtria is ſhut out from the fructifying weſt and ſouth winds by large hills, and even the cleanſing north is forbid entrance by the Bohemian mountains. Only the eaſt has free entrance into it; nor can a country

try that has ſo much water be otherwiſe than very moiſt. The number of hills and woods too are very favourable to agriculture, ſo that the riches of the country conſiſt chiefly in paſtures, in ſalt, and apples, the quantity of which ſupplies the want of wine.

The ſituation of Lintz, which is the capital of this country, is extremely beautiful. From Schloſsberg, which is on the weſt-ſide of the city, you command a magnificent view of an immenſe plain to the right of the Danube. This is terminated to the ſouth by the lofty hills of Styria, whoſe heads often top the clouds. The city, which is on this ſide the Danube, riſes directly over againſt you, like a magnificent amphitheatre. The ſemicircle of beautiful high hills, by which it is encompaſſed, extend to the Danube. The deep white ground of theſe hills is thick covered with villages and houſes, and amidſt the hanging woods on the ſide, there are ſome caſtles which make a very fine appearance. The majeſtic Danube gives ſtill more grandeur, life, and variety to this beautiful proſpect.

The city is very handſome. It is built almoſt entirely of freeſtone. There is ſo much induſtry, happineſs, and proſperity, among the eleven thouſand inhabitants who dwell in it, as

to make the Bavarian cities appear like ſo many poor-houſes, in compariſon of it. There are ſeveral conſiderable manufactures here, and the trade of the city is very extenſive. There is very good company to be met with amongſt the numerous and poliſhed nobility, the officers who are conſtantly quartered here, and the ſeveral profeſſors of the place. The city is open on all ſides, and the town and country ſeem ſo united, that, if my ſpirit of knight errantry would allow it, I would pitch my tent, and lay up my travelling ſtaff here. The nobility of the place chiefly conſiſts of families, whoſe incomes are too ſmall to allow of their living creditably at Vienna. One advantage, which ariſes from this, is, that they abate much of the *hauteur*, which renders the converſation of the Upper German nobility in general ſo unbearable.

The young women of this place have much better manners, more reading, and are in all reſpects better qualified to appear with advantage in ſociety than the Bavarian dames; but they loſe in body what they gain in mind. Their general want of colour, and their faded looks, in which are ſo ſtrong a contraſt to the animated open countenances of the others, are commonly attributed to the waters, and damp

of

of the place; but I am of opinion that the evil lies elſewhere. A large garriſon ſeldom contributes to the health of young women. The dreſs of the women of the lower rank is the handſomeſt I have ever ſeen: Their conſtitutions ſeem to be very warm, which explains the ſhrivelled ſtate of their bodies.

The treatment of ſtrangers here does not correſpond with the ſoftneſs and gentleneſs of manner, which the Auſtrian government aſſumes in every thing elſe. We were carried like priſoners from the veſſel to the guard-room, where I was obliged to wait above half an hour, in a ſtinking room, before the officer, who had the appearance of an inquiſitor, had examined the ſeveral mechanics, and was at leiſure to expedite my paſſport. This gentleman ſeemed to me to have it much more at heart to make recruits, than to recommend himſelf to his ſuperiors by his good treatment of ſtrangers.

Happening to have left my tobacco-box on board, I took a walk in ſearch of it, through a very pleaſant country, to the place where I knew the veſſel muſt ſtop. I arrived juſt as ſome lower officers, with very fierce and ſurly countenances, were got on board, once more to viſit the mechanics, who imagined they had been diſpatched at Lintz.

They

They took away two Bohemians, under the pretence that the natives were not allowed to go from one province to another without a ſpecial permiſſion. The men were indeed ſoon releaſed on ſhewing their paſſes, but in the interval the veſſel had ſailed, and the men were obliged to walk ſeveral miles before they could come up with it again. The object of the ſoldiers was certainly to oblige theſe good people, by their delay, to enliſt. A traveller in France, be his rank what it may, has no impediments of this kind to apprehend. As ſoon as his paſs is ſealed, and his trunk ſearched, nothing more can ſtop him. I was ſtanding this morning on the banks of the river, to ſee them unload a veſſel from Ulm, on board which I mean to take my paſſage to-morrow. Amongſt the paſſengers were two of our countrymen, the one an elderly man, who was going to Vienna to get his bread as a language maſter; the other a *friſeur*. A ſergeant, with his bayonet fixed, aſked them for their paſs, which he tore out of their hands, with a ferocity I was not at all ſurpriſed at, becauſe I knew it was natural to him. The language-maſter was offended at it, and muſtered all his German together, in order to make the ſoldier ſenſible of his importance. Though the ſer-

jeant could not make a word out of what the poor Frenchman would have ſaid, yet the vivacity of the manner having made him conjecture it muſt be ſomething not ſufficiently reſpectful, he gave the other a punch in the ribs with the bayonet. On this, the Frenchman appealed to the ſpectators, and told them, that people were not thus treated in his country; but the only anſwer he got for this remonſtrance, was from one of the mob, who adviſed him, if that was the caſe, in future to ſtay at home.—Such treatment does not prepoſſeſs a ſtranger, who happens to have no opportunity of ſeeing better company, with a very favourable opinion of the country.

Remonſtrances in general are but ill received here. The omnipotent ſtick is ever ready to anſwer interrogatories; and a man ſoon perceives, in every occurrence, that he is come into a military government, the foundation of which is abſolute ſubordination. It is true, that perſons of a certain rank are not expoſed to this; but what then? It appears to me, that whatever be the condition, or ſtation, man owes to man good will and civility. Amongſt us the leaſt ſoldier is open to remonſtrance, and anſwers it as well as he is able. Every body ſeems eager to ſhew the ſtranger that they take

intereſt

intereſt in his fate, that they are glad to ſee him in their country, and that they have a pride in giving him as good an opinion of them as poſſible. The reaſon why we were treated with more civility at Engelhaſtzell, is, becauſe it is a frontier town, and there are no troops quartered there, on account of the fear there is of deſertion; ſo the civil officers are obliged to give good words: but here, when the air reſounds with the ſtrokes of the corporal's ſtick, every look of the loweſt ſervant muſt be conſidered as a command.—Brother, in what regards politeneſs and humanity, a Frenchman has a right to be proud. This is no prejudice. In the other nations of Europe, civility is confined within the very ſmall circle of the higher orders; but we muſt do our common people the honor to allow that it is by no means ſo with us.—As for the boaſted freedom of ſpeech of ſome of our neighbours, it is often no more than a ferocity, and wildneſs of manner, produced by a very bad education.

Our boat was built after the model of Noah's ark; it had no windows to it, was decked all over, and the men, beaſts, merchandize, and vermin, were packed up together in it without any diſtinction. The quarterdeck ſupplied the place of a cabin.

A high pile of cheſts of ſugar formed the inner wall of this, and on one ſide of it there was a little opening left, which they called a window, but through which there hardly came light enough to ſhew that it was day. There was another opening made on the ſide of the foredeck length-ways, about the middle of the veſſel, not large enough to let a dove fly in with an olive branch. Through this, with very imminent danger of life, we were obliged to do our neceſſities.

As there was no outlet to theſe *cloacs*, nor any cabin boys on board to clean them, you may conceive what balſamic exhalations every now and then filled the boat, eſpecially as it happened to be uncommonly full of paſſengers. I lay for the greateſt part of the time ſtretched out on the roof of this ark, but was forced to cling very cloſe to the edge of it, that I might not be plunged into the water, by the leaſt motion ariſing from the change of the rudder, or by running on ground. It is, I aſſure you, no ſmall exerciſe to ſecure the feet properly in theſe expeditions. The beautiful proſpect I enjoyed made the journey tolerable. From Paſſaw hither, the banks of the Danube are covered with the hills which ſurround the plains of Auſtria. Theſe hills ſtand in general

ſo

ſo near each other, that it is only in a very few places that you can call the ſpace between them a plain; in many places they hang over the river like broken walls. Notwithſtanding this, the ſhores are well inhabited and wonderfully cultivated. It is true, that between Lintz and this place, which are diſtant from each other twenty-eight German miles, you meet with no great cities, but there are many ſmall ones, and a great number of villages and meadows, all which ſhew that the inhabitants are much at their eaſe.

What afforded me the greateſt pleaſure was the winding of the river; ſometimes we coaſted along vallies encompaſſed with hills, the ſlopes of which were gentle enough to admit of cultivation to the very top. The fore-ground of the beautiful perſpective exhibited either a well cultivated village or a large meadow, the white of which contraſted, ſingularly, with the dark groves of the broken mountain behind.—And now the boat comes nearer and nearer to this place, which ſhuts in the whole proſpect, and ſeems to ſwim upon the water; now we are only a hundred paces diſtant from it, without being able to diſcover on what ſide the ſtream will wind out of the vale. We fear to run aground on the walls of a town, or to put into the ſtreets

of a village, when at once a proſpect of a quite different kind opens to our right; the river turns by a ſharp corner out of the clear vale, into a narrow, wild, obſcure glen. This is like being carried at once out of mid-day into the darkeſt night; for the perpendicular high hills and groves on each ſide do not ſuffer the day to break through. But the back-ground is covered by a thick darkneſs, which hardly allows of diſtinguiſhing the tops of the high hills from the deep blue of the ſky. The fore-ground is filled with a dark-grey, which agrees wonderfully with the colour and figure of the hills and woods. No noiſe breaks the ſtillneſs which reigns in this ſolitary vale, ſave the far-ſounding ſtroke of a wood-cutter in a neighbouring wood, or the ſong of ſome bird. And now we are approaching the end of this frightful proſpect, and expect to be reſtored to day through ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, but the ſcenery grows darker and darker, and the way we are to get out appears more and more a riddle to us: with anxious looks we ſeek for an opening in the rocks, by which we are impriſoned on all ſides;—when lo! as if by a ſtroke of a fairy's wand, there opens a chearful landſcape on the left, to the ſight of which we are introduced through a narrow gulph. Our raviſhed eyes now wander

wander over the beautiful hills, the various woods, the numberleſs villages, the caſtles and country houſes, the vineyards and gardens, which during a long tract are reflected by the river. In this manner the proſpect is always changing, the variety being ſuch as leaves you more to expect in every change, and always gives more than it had promiſed.

I had two adventures on board of this conveyance, which turned out like the famous wind-mill buſineſs of the renowned Don Quixote. I am almoſt aſhamed to give an account of them. In my way here, through Ulm and the other cities, I had heard ſo much of the danger of paſſing the fall and whirlpool of the Danube, that I had thought of throwing you and Nannette into no ſmall terrors, by the deſcription of the perils I had undergone. But you may now be at reſt, my dear children, though I ſhould have this Scylla and Charibdis to encounter a hundred times. The fall is a ſpot in which the river, having been confined for a time betwixt two high hills, breaks with an impetuous noiſe over a wall of rocks, which meet it directly in its courſe. This ſounds very terrible; but towards the right ſide of the river, the ſtream has worn theſe rocks ſo much, that even at this time, when the water is lower than

ever it was known to be in the memory of man, the largeſt veſſel may ſail over, without being expoſed to any danger. Poſſibly, ſome hundred years ago, there might have been ſome riſk, and this may have made this place ſo famous in all the ſouthern parts of Germany, and in all the relations of voyage writers and geographers; but at preſent there is a great noiſe about nothing, and the inceſſant flowing of the ſtream will ſoon do away even the name of this frightful place. The country about the fall is wild and romantic to a degree. A broken rock, in appearance like a ſquare tower, ſtands about twenty paces from the ſhore, in the midſt of the roaring flood. The common paſſage is betwixt this rock and the ſhore. They have erected a croſs on this natural caſtle, to which the travellers addreſs their prayers: it makes a very picturesque appearance amidſt the wild briars that ſurround it. —Upon the whole, I was much more amuſed with the beauties of the country, than frightened with the danger of the place.

We left the whirlpool *, which is met with ſoon after the fall, about twelve to fifteen paces on the right, without being affected by any of its

* The German words are, Wirbel and Strindel. They probably mean one and the ſame thing.

undulations.

undulations. Commonly there is room for more veſſels than one to paſs betwixt it and the ſhore, without any danger: ſo that when the maſter carries his paſſengers through it, it is only done to impreſs them with needleſs terrors. When the water is deepeſt and ſtrongeſt, it cannot ſuck in a veſſel carrying a moderate burthen; but is only dangerous to the ſmall craft which obſtinately perſiſt in going through it. As far as I could ſee, it is not above twenty feet in circumference.—To ſum up all, neither of theſe places are as dangerous as many parts of the Moſelle, the Maeſe, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Rhine, which yet are commonly paſſed by without any apprehenſions.

A great variety of circumſtances concur to excite an idea of danger in both theſe parts of the Danube. Low mechanics are fond of ſpeaking of them, and magnifying the danger, that they may increaſe their own importance in having gone through it. Others, more ſimple, who come to the place with ſtrong conceits of what they are to meet with there, are ſo ſtruck with the wildneſs of the proſpect, and the roaring of the water, that they begin to quake and tremble before they have ſeen any thing;—But the maſters of veſſels are thoſe who moſt effectually keep up the impoſition. They make the

paſſages

paſſages a pretence for raiſing the price of the freight, and when you are paſt them, the ſteerſman goes round with his hat in his hand to collect money from the paſſengers, as a reward for having conducted them ſafely through ſuch perilous ſpots. When our maſter (who yet very well knew how much it was for his intereſt to keep up the credit of his monſters) ſaw how little attention I paid to them, he aſſured me, in confidence, that during the twenty years he had ſailed on the Danube, he had not heard of a ſingle accident. There is infinitely more danger from the many wooden bridges which the veſſels muſt neceſſarily paſs through. The arches of theſe are, for the moſt part, ſo cloſe to each other, that there is hardly room enough for a large veſſel to paſs betwixt them. The common paſſage-boat, which has travellers and valuable wares on board, has nothing to fear, both becauſe the ſides of theſe veſſels are ſo high, that they cannot eaſily ſhip water, and becauſe the people belonging to the veſſel, and who are to anſwer for the goods, take care that they ſhall not be expoſed to danger; but from the inn at Stein, where we ſtopped to take a view of the cloiſter of Molk, and the country round about us, we ſaw three ſhips laden with wood ſink under the bridge. The few ſailors which were

were on board jumped into a wherry, and endeavoured to take in as much of the wood, with which the Danube is covered on every part, as they could. The ſides of theſe ſhips are hardly more than a few inches higher than the ſurface of the river, and the leaſt joſtle they meet with makes them ſhip water enough to ſink them.

The gatherers of wood are miſerable people, who can get nothing by any handicraft. Their wretched ſhips are of no value, and in caſe of accidents, the men can always ſave themſelves on board the ſmall boats, which they have in tow for the purpoſe.—Moſt of the miſcarriages are to be aſcribed to their wantonneſs.

Throughout the whole of this journey, we met with very good and very cheap inns. There are no men waiters in theſe parts, but their duty is done by young women, who ſeem ready for more ſervices than one.—There reigns throughout an exceſſive cleanlineſs, and a high degree of eaſe and proſperity.

Paris by no means ſtrikes the eye ſo magnificently as Vienna does, when you approach the latter by the river. At a diſtance of a few miles you firſt diſcover the high tower of St. Stephens, in a narrow vale, through which the ſtream winds. The windings of the vale ſoon remove the tower from the eyes of the traveller,

who

who ſtill looks eagerly for the place where the immenſe pyramid, now vaniſhed, pointed out to him the habitation of the Cæſars. Soon after, high hills covered with vineyards cloſe up this vale, when to the left there opens an immenſe plain, in which, by degrees, the traveller diſcovers a part of the city: the right is covered with hills, partly wooded, and partly cultivated, which come down to the river. The magnificence of this beautiful ſpot is much improved by the royal cloiſter of Neuburg. At length you come to a ſtrait rock, which hangs almoſt down upon the flood below. On the top of this there is a cloiſter, and at the bottom the beauteous village of Ruſdorff, which you almoſt take for one of the ſuburbs of Vienna. When once you have paſſed the rock, the capital occupies the whole horizon. Its ſeveral parts commend themſelves the more to the eye, from their being at great diſtances from each other, and many of them ſituated on high eminences. The number of large buildings, the noiſe that broke upon my ears from all ſides, and the foreſt, as it were, of houſes, made my heart beat, notwithſtanding all the pains I could take to think of Horace's *Nil Admirari*.

When we landed, my trunks underwent another ſearch by the cuſtom-houſe officers. This

paſſed over without any diſagreeable circumſtances, as they did not take the trouble to inſpect my pockets, which I had filled with forbidden books.—The journey from Lintz hither laſted ſix days, though it is commonly performed in two. The reaſon aſſigned by the ſailors was the uſual one, of contrary winds; but I knew the true cauſe to be, the contraband goods they had on board. The journey from Ratiſbon hither coſts two ducats; one of which pays your paſſage, and the other your proviſions, which conſiſt of freſh fiſh, ſalt meat, and ſome vegetables. When the weather is fine, you may ſleep on board without inconvenience. Cheap, however, as this journey of fifty-ſix German miles ſeems to be at firſt ſight, I did not find my account in it; the frequent and long ſtoppages of the ſhip obliging me to live much on ſhore, and to ſpend my time and money at inns.

The beſt way, when you are fortunate enough to meet with company at Ulm or Ratiſbon, is to purchaſe a ſmall decked veſſel, which you may have for ſixty or ſeventy guilders, and which will hold fifteen or ſixteen people. The veſſel may be ſold again at Vienna, often with profit, and you perform your journey in four, five, or at moſt ſix days; whereas a common veſſel

veſſel is fourteen, and often ſixteen days in going the journey. Three or four ſailors, and a good ſteerſman, will think themſelves ſufficiently paid for their trouble, if, when you come to your journey's end, you give them the veſſel.

LETTER XIX.

YOU have no idea, dear brother, of the trouble I had to provide myſelf with a proper habitation. I ran about the city three whole days with my *laquais de place*, before I could get houſed. It is not here as at Paris, where there is an office in every part of the city, giving an account of what houſes or lodgings are to let, and for what price. Here every owner of a houſe puts up a bill before his door, ſtating very circumſtantially what rooms he has empty. As the houſes conſiſt of five or ſix ſtories, and each ſtory has an owner, who may have a room or an apartment vacant, you often find the doors of the houſes plaſtered all over with advertiſements, and may be near half an hour reading, before you get the information you want to arrive at.

The firſt room I ſaw was up four pair of ſtairs. The looks of it did not diſpleaſe me; but as ſoon as I heard that the owner was a *Gnadige Herr*, I ſaid, in French, to my laquais, "Away, I will have nothing to do with a *gnadige herr*, who has half of his hired habitation to underlet."—The next houſe I went into, I mounted up ſix pair of ſtairs. When I was got to the top, there came out of a lower apartment a little diminutive man, in a night gown; he had a pen ſticking behind his ear, and was followed by a maid, who gave him the appellation of *your honour*. Only *your honour*, thought I to myſelf, this may do. I went into the rooms, and was half induced, by the pure air I breathed in theſe upper regions, to cloſe the agreement, when it came into my head to open a window, and look what ſort of proſpect I ſhould have. I could diſcover nothing but roofs of houſes and chimneys, which entirely took away all view of the city.—"Away," ſaid I.—So we ſaw ſix apartments that day, without finding any thing that would ſuit. Amongſt other landlords, we came to an *Excellence*, or rather to a *Magnificence*, (for I had choice of titles) who lived in the back part of a ground floor, and with whom I did not chooſe to partake of the foul air he breathed. The next day's operation opened with a *gnadige*

fraw,

fraw. She recommended her *fraeleii tochter* to me for ſo many things, that it was impoſſible to think of coming to an agreement with her. "Look here," ſays ſhe, "*my daughter herſelf* will bring you your coffee in the morning; if you chooſe any tea in an afternoon, *my daughter herſelf* will wait upon you with it; if you chooſe to treat us now and then to a play, and are too late for your *traiteur*, our cold ſupper will be at your ſervice, and ſo on!"——Thou muſt know, it is not in Germany as with us at Paris; a woman of honour looks upon it as an affront to be offered to be treated to a public place, by a perſon who is not a relation, or a particular friend. Here it is the cuſtom to frank women wherever you go with them.—I ſoon ſaw that the pretty girl's ſervices were included in the price of the room; ſo away I went again.—Having again tired myſelf with ſearching this day, I began to think that I ſhould not find what I wanted in the city itſelf, as all the lodgings which have any free air or proſpect are infinitely dearer than at Paris. This cannot well be otherwiſe, as a third part of the inhabitants dwell within the walls of the city, which do not comprehend above one ſixth of the ground it ſtands upon. As the ſuburbs are at ſome diſtance from the city, their extenſiveneſs makes it a deſirable

object

object for every one, to live nearer the center of buſineſs. The ſuburbs of Paris are as well inhabited as the city itſelf. But at Vienna we meet with a great deal of waſte ground. Another reaſon of the high price of the beſt houſes in the city, is, that the ſecond ſtory of every houſe belongs to the court, and is tenanted by its ſervants. You pay from ſix to eight guilders (about eighteen ſhillings) a month for one of the beſt rooms in a good ſtreet, and about three for one of the worſt.—In the ſuburb of Mariahef, which is the moſt wholeſome ſituation in the place, after ſome trouble, I found a very handſome room, which commands a fine proſpect, for three guilders a month.

I cannot go from hence to town, without a great deal of trouble. In Paris you are forced to walk up to your ancles in mud; here, on the other hand, you cannot ſtir out, without being choaked with the duſt. Vienna lies open to the drying Eaſt and North winds, but is protected by its neighbouring hills from the South and Weſt, which keeps Paris in almoſt perpetual rains. When it has rained here a whole night, all is dry again a few hours after ſun-riſe, and by noon the clouds of duſt begin to riſe. Indeed, when it rains more than a day, the duſt makes the mud exceedingly deep. When I

would go to town, I muſt croſs the wide and naked plain which parts us, which I am obliged to do, with my handkerchief to my mouth, in order not to be choaked with duſt. The hackney coaches of this place are always in a trot or a gallop, and as the way to *Shombrun* lies by my windows, it requires ſome good luck, as well as ſome care, to go through the clouds of duſt, without being run over by a hackney coach, or without running aground of ſome other traveller.

In caſe of a ſiege, the diſtance betwixt the town and ſuburbs would give the beſiegers great advantages; but it is very unlikely that ſuch a circumſtance ſhould ever happen. The Turks have been the only people, in modern times, who could carry their wars to the gates of the capital, a thing which the King of Pruſſia did not dare attempt, after the moſt ſucceſsful battle. At preſent the ſtrength of the Imperial houſe is ſo ſuperior to that of the Porte, that I believe the preſent court keeps up the fortifications, only with the view of keeping the city itſelf in ſubjection. Another reaſon, indeed, may be aſſigned, which is the ruin that would fall upon ſeveral families, who ſubſiſt entirely by letting their houſes, if the value of them was to ſink one half, which it would certainly do, if the empty ſpace before the city was to be built upon.

upon. As things now are, there are ſeveral habitations worth from 2 to 300,000 guilders, or from 20 to 30,000 pounds per annum, which conſtitutes the whole fortune of their poſſeſſors. Any man who is out of debt, and has a houſe in this city, is accounted a rich man. The houſe of the bookſeller Trattnem is an object of 30,000 guilders (or 3000l. a year) to him. The advantages that would accrue, in point of health and convenience, by carrying the city on to the ſuburbs, and by that means thinning the choaked up habitations, would not make amends for what thoſe who have houſes muſt unavoidably ſuffer by the change.

Within theſe few days I have begun my uſual circle in and about the city, in order to be able to form to myſelf an idea of its ſeparate parts. It takes up almoſt two hours to go from the end of the ſuburb of Wieden to the end of the ſuburb of Leopold, which is larger than the town, and parted from it only by a ſmall arm of the Danube. The going from the ſuburb Roſſaw to the end of the ſuburb Landſtraſſe, took me up about another half hour. Vienna certainly ſtands upon much more ground than Paris does. It has twenty-ſix ſuburbs; but many parts of them are not built upon, and about a third of them is occupied by three or four hundred gardens, not above three or four

of which are worth ſeeing. The ſuburbs beſt inhabited are the Roſſaw, the Joſephſtadt, St. Ulrich, Mariahilp, a part of the Wieden, and the Leopoldſtadt. The largeſt of them all, after the Leopoldſtadt, is the Wieden, the inhabitants of which have a great reſemblance to thoſe of the ſuburb St. Marcel at Paris.

There are ſcarce eight buildings in the whole town which can be called beautiful or magnificent. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe are the palace of Lichtenſtein, the emperor's library, and the chancery.

The emperor's palace is an old black building, that has neither beauty nor ſtatelineſs. It is a great maſs of ſtone, which was built ſeven ſtories high, in order to contain as many inhabitants as poſſible. There are hardly three ſquares, or places here which make any figure at all. The greateſt thoroughfare is from the emperor's palace over the *Coal-market*, the *Graben*, the *Stockameiſenplaſs*, and through the *Carnthner-ſtraſſe*. In all theſe places, particularly in the narrow and irregular *Stockameiſenplaſs*, the thorough-fare is as great, and the motion as lively, as in any ſtreet of London or Paris. The ſtream of this great concourſe reaches as far as Leopoldſgate, and throughout the whole of the high ſtreet of the ſuburb of Leopold.—There

are not more than eight buildings worth looking at in the ſuburbs; and the taſte of the buildings about the gardens, and the ſummer-houſes, is miſerable.

According to the common report of thoſe from whom one has a right to expect accurate accounts of their native country, the population of Vienna amounts to at leaſt a million. Buſching, in his geography, will hardly allow it to paſs 200,000. In my opinion, the public and the geographer are equally miſtaken. In the laſt year, which was not remarkably fatal, according to the bills of mortality, the number of the dead amounted to 10,000, that is about half the number of thoſe who die at Paris. Now if you make allowance for ſtrangers, of whoſe deaths you can have no accurate account, and multiply the ſum by 36, you will have the true account of the population.

I was aſſured by a man of conſequence, who was in the way of getting at good information, that a very little time ago, the population was eſtimated at 385,000, ſtrangers included. This reckoning will appear accurate; for we muſt conſider that the air and water are much better here than they are at Paris, where the numbers are allowed to be 700,000, of whom 21,000 die every year. Doubtleſs, Vienna has as many

inhabitants in it as Naples; and thoſe two towns are the moſt populous in the world, after Conſtantinople, London, and Paris.—Whoever is a little acquainted with other large cities will ſee, in a moment, that Vienna muſt contain above 200,000 people.

I am not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the manners, cuſtoms, and amuſements of the inhabitants of this place, to be able to give you any certain information about them. All I can ſay is, that to judge by external appearances, the great appear uncommonly fond of magnificence. I was ſhewn the Prince of Lichtenſtein, mounted on a very fine horſe, and attended by at leaſt eight perſons, ſome of whom were dreſſed like huſſars, and ſeemed to be a kind of body guard. He is ſuppoſed to be like the emperor, in manners, geſtures, and face; and ſome think that he attempts to copy him in externals. As to my part, I own, that in the glimpſe I had of them both, I could not diſcover the reſemblance; and there is one thing in which they certainly differ; for the emperor undoubtedly does not like to go out with ſo numerous a train of followers. I ſaw him taking the air: he was in a *cabriolet*, and had a ſingle footman behind him. He affects ſimplicity and popularity almoſt in the extreme.

In

In the ſhort time I have been here, I have ſeen more ſplendid equipages and horſes than there are in all Paris. Our faſhions prevail here univerſally. Dreſſed dolls are regularly ſent from Paris, for the purpoſe of teaching the women how to put on their gowns and dreſs their heads. Even the men, from time to time, get *memoranda* from Paris, and lay them before their taylors and hair-dreſſers. I heard a lady telling another, yeſterday at the play, with an air of the profoundeſt wiſdom, that the Queen of France had worn the ſame kind of head-dreſs as ſhe had then on, four weeks ago at the *theatre*. All the women I have hitherto ſeen are painted up to the eyes and ears, like the French ones. The knowing ones tell you, that the eyes acquire a kind of fire by this means, which gives an inexpreſſible animation to the whole look; but I believe I have often told you and Nannette, that I am barbarian enough to wiſh to wipe away all the red off a lady's cheeks with a wiſp of ſtraw and coarſe ſand, even though the eyes ſhould loſe all their luſtre by it. After all, the rouge of the ladies here, like that of our Pariſian dames, ſeems to have become a neceſſary evil, to hide the yellowneſs of their ſkin. I ſaw ſeveral of them who had every reaſon to cry out, *La verole mon Dieu, m'a rongé juſqu'aux os.*

LETTER XX.

Vienna.

OUR new philoſophers are unanimous in declaring againſt large ſocieties; as for my own part, I take things as they are, and am contented with what I find, whenever an alteration appears dangerous or impoſſible. It is very true, that when you look on the dark ſide of them only, great cities ſeem a diſgrace to humanity; but put one of theſe philoſophers to the proof, and let him tell you how London, Paris, or Vienna, are to be made leſs without ſhaking the whole ſtate, and rendering a large portion of the preſent inhabitants unhappy.

Wherever there is much light, there will of courſe be a great deal of ſhade. Take them all together, there is more good than bad amongſt mankind; though, therefore, you ſhould allow the wickedneſs of individuals to be more viſible in large cities, than it is in the ſcattered cottages of the inhabitants of the foreſt, mountain, or deſert; it is plainly owing to the following reaſons, viz. Becauſe the natural propenſities of the two-legged wild beaſts, have more opportunities of ſhewing themſelves without

out diſguiſe here; becauſe we can ſee the wickedneſs of ſo many that are drawn together, as it were to a point, and in cottages it eſcapes us; becauſe this very contraſt is rendered more ſtriking from the attention which the police, who has no power to reward the good, is compelled to pay to the puniſhment of the wicked. Our philoſophers, who declaim on this head, have more ſpleen than good humour about them, and had rather ſee black than white; but the greateſt part of them are ſo little in earneſt in their declarations, that even the very ſerious John James of Geneva preferred living at Paris, to living with thoſe very Savoyards and inhabitants of the Valais, in whoſe praiſes he was ſo full.

It has been ſaid of London, that you may ſee heaven and hell there at once. This, with a little allowance for the difference, which the ſtrongly pronounced character of the Engliſhman gives to all he does, is true, I believe, of every large city in the world. But, on the other hand, the newſpapers, which are every day publiſhed in theſe cities, exhibit inſtances of virtue in all ranks of life, which the half ſavage has no idea of. The good there is about man diſcovers itſelf in great cities as much as the bad, and ought to be reſpected by every

true

true friend to humanity, in a much greater degree than the virtues of ſavage life, for as much as it is not the working of a ſenſeleſs inſtinct, but the reſult of a greater degree of knowledge and more lively feelings. Conceive to yourſelf the ſublime anſwer of a mechanic of the ſuburb St. Marcel at Paris, to a monk who comforted him on his death bed, by telling him that he muſt of courſe be glad to go out of this world of tribulation. "Good father," ſaid the dying man, "no ſins moleſt my conſcience, my days "have glided away ſoftly, and in uninterrupted "pleaſures, and the world has been no place of "tribulation to me. I reſign myſelf willingly "to the appointment of providence, and die "without a ſigh; but, had it pleaſed the Crea-"tor to increaſe the number of my days, I truſt "that my trade———" Think of the young man who maintained his family for ſome time with his blood, which he ſold to a ſurgeon, who wanted to make experiments with it. Recollect the young woman of St. Jaques at Paris, who ſtood firm againſt every offer of ſeduction, and maintained herſelf, mother, and little ſiſters, by occupations ſo laborious, that they deſtroyed her beauty and impaired her conſtitution. Theſe, and a thouſand more ſuch caſes, which the hiſtory of Paris furniſhes us with, will teach you,

that in large ſocieties men excel in virtue as much as they do in vice, and that all the ſtories of the natural place of man, and the advantages to be found in it, for the purpoſes of happineſs and virtue, are, for the moſt part, only the beauteous dream of abſtract reaſoners. For my own part, brother, I have found the man of the woods, whenever occaſion was given for it, full as wicked as the inhabitants of the moſt peopled towns and cities. The propenſity, indeed, to oppreſs and cheat his neighbour, cannot be ſo viſibly diſcovered in the former as it is in the latter, becauſe the neighbour, and he, do not often come into ſuch ſtrong colliſion; but when the latter is good, he is ſo in a much higher degree than the half ſavage.

It is ſaid, that certain modes of education, certain cuſtoms, and a bad government, bow down to their yoke thoſe who live with more ſimplicity. But all the half ſavages we are acquainted with (and as to the whole ones, we ſhall know nothing certain of them, till the country beyond the moon ſhall be diſcovered) are alſo under the influence of cuſtom, education, and government. On the other hand, it muſt be obſerved, that the inhabitant of numerous ſocieties is more eaſily poliſhed, and, when he grows wicked, more eaſily converted, than

than the half ſavage, who ſets his life on his cuſtoms and manners. Even at this time the moſt enamoured partiſans of the Swiſs find only in ſome ſcattered parts of Savoy, the reliques of the manners they ſo much admire, and theſe, they muſt confeſs, will be done away in the next generation; whilſt, on the other hand, the corruption to be found among the inhabitants of the Griſons, and ſome of the Democratic Cantons, ſurpaſſes every idea, which a man not acquainted with the place can form of it, with this additional cauſe for deſpair, that the evil is here remedileſs; whereas the inhabitants of Paris, London, and Vienna, may grow better in ſome generation.

I found it neceſſary to make theſe introductory remarks, becauſe, though I was not capable to ſay as much good of the people of Vienna at preſent as I could wiſh, I was willing you ſhould be convinced that I am in perfect friendſhip with them, and do not mean to adviſe them to ſeparate and live behind the hedges like gypſies, in order to make their ſituation better, by approaching nearer to the ſtate of nature. In every part of the world I meet men towards whom my heart warms, and have no neceſſity to wander with our knight errants among the vales of Piedmont, Savoy, and Switzerland, in order

to

to find fellow-creatures to be proud of. I do not know whether theſe gentlemen meet with what they are in ſearch of, but it is certain, that they all come back again very ſoon.

What diſtinguiſhes the people of this place from the Pariſians is a certain coarſe pride not to be deſcribed, an inſurmountable heavineſs and ſtupidity, and an unaccountable propenſity to guzzling. The hoſpitality of the table, about which you have heard ſo much, is only an effect of pride. During the four weeks I have been here, I have hardly been able to dine above four times by myſelf. It is the cuſtom when a man is firſt introduced into a new houſe, to fix a day in every week for him to be a regular gueſt there. In the firſt houſe I dined, I conceived that the people had a real pleaſure in ſeeing me; but I had not ſat long before I had invitations enough, from the company preſent only, to laſt me a month. But when they aſk you, they all do it with ſuch faces which ſeem to ſay, 'Is not it true that we 'are far more hoſpitable than your Pariſian gen-'try?' Sometimes they go ſtill farther, and make themſelves very merry (that is, according to the Vienna mode of being merry) with our ſparing niggardlineſs. It is certainly true, that a man eats much better here than he does

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at Paris; and he certainly alſo eats a great deal more. At the common tables of the people of a middling rank (ſuch as the lower ſervants of the court, merchants, artiſts, and the better kinds of mechanics), you commonly ſee ſix, eight, or even ten diſhes, with two, three, or even four kinds of wine. They commonly ſit two hours at table; and they took it as a very uncivil thing of me that I refuſed to taſte many diſhes, though I was compelled to do ſo, to ſave myſelf an indigeſtion. But, alas! ſo ſoon as the body is ſatisfied here, ſo ſoon does the mind long for the friendly *dinés* and *ſoupés* of Paris, which you know are more intended for the feaſt of reaſon, and the flow of ſoul, than the dainty purſuit of indigeſtions, choleras, and apoplexy. Here the only entertainment, mingled with the very ſerious buſineſs going forward, are ſome very bad low jokes. At the beſt tables here, (I mean thoſe of the ſecond order) you commonly meet a monk, but more commonly a player, whoſe very refined wit enlivens the whole company. The monk is commonly ſeated by the lady of the houſe, whom he coquets with; the player is ſeated at the other end, and laughs at him till the whole route breaks out into ſhouts of laughter, far above the capacity of common lungs or ears either to join in or bear. When the converſation

converſation takes a more ſerious turn, it is always about the theatre, which is the utmoſt length to which criticiſm or obſervation ever extend in this country; but the players are far from being the company here, that they are at Paris. None of thoſe with whom I am hitherto acquainted know their mother tongue. At Paris, undoubtedly, we ſhould not admit into good company, men who neither by their wit or their manners can raiſe themſelves at all above the loweſt of the vulgar.

Upon the whole, you meet here with none of the briſkneſs, the ſpirited pleaſure, the unconſtrained ſatisfaction, and the intereſting curioſity about what is going forwards, that you find at Paris, even amongſt the loweſt orders of ſociety. No body here makes remarks upon the miniſters or the court; no body entertains the company with the novelty or anecdote of the day. You meet with numberleſs people of the middling ranks who have nothing to ſay of their miniſters, their generals, and philoſophers, and who hardly know even their names. Nothing is taken care of but the *animal* part. They breakfaſt till they dine, and they dine till they ſup, with only the interval of, perhaps, a ſhort walk, and going to the play. If you go into a coffee-houſe, of which there are about ſeventy,

or

or into a beer-houſe, which are the moſt elegant and beſt furniſhed of all the public houſes, (I ſaw one with red damaſk tapeſtry, pictures with gilt frames, looking-glaſſes, clocks a-la-Grecque, and marble tables) you will ſee nothing but a perpetual motion of jaws. One thing you may reſt aſſured of, that no one will come up to you or be troubleſome with queſtions; no man there talks at all, except with his neighbour, and then he moſt commonly whiſpers. You would conceive you were in a Venetian coffee-houſe, where they all take one another for ſpies. When I ſay all this, I deſire to be underſtood as ſpeaking of the *middling ranks* only, who in all countries are what properly may be called the people, for as to the *people of rank*, they, with a few ſhades only of diſtinction, are the ſame throughout all Europe; and the *loweſt claſſes* hardly mix with ſociety. No doubt, a gentleman introduced, as Dr. Moore happened to be, would meet with many an Aſpaſia capable of being claſſed in the ſame line with her immortal prototype (that is, the vicious part of the character excepted); an Aſpaſia whoſe circles are conſtantly filled by the wiſeſt philoſophers, the deepeſt ſtateſmen, the greateſt generals, the wiſeſt, mildeſt, and moſt affable of princes; but it is not in aſſemblies of this kind

that

that the *characters* and *manners* of a nation are to be met with.

The ſociableneſs, good taſte, and poliſhed manners, which render the preſent court ſo remarkable, are a conſequence of the travelled education of the preſent Emperor. His father, indeed, had relaxed ſomething of the *Sultan* manner in his court; but Joſeph is the firſt of his houſe who has conſidered himſelf as a man born for all mankind. Formerly one of the old nobility conſidered it as a diſgrace if a common citizen even did but look at him; and the leſſer, or ſecond order of nobleſſe, were excluded the court, as is the practice in Spain. There are inſtances of perſons, even of the rank of fieldmarſhals, who could not gain admittance. The whole train of ſcience was baniſhed under the notion of pedantry, and the arts, ever taſteleſs without it, were employed only to dreſs up harlequins. The Emperor Leopold, indeed, had ſome taſte for muſic: but conceive to yourſelf this prince (a cotemporary of Lewis XIV. at a time when the arts were in all their glory with us), with his imperial crown on his imperial ſhoulders, looking out of his palace window to ſee a ſet of the loweſt buffoons that ever diſgraced a ſtage with their tricks, ſing and dance in the court of the palace. Prince Eugene

was the firſt who introduced any thing of a taſte into the country; the firſt who gave a general love for French literature: he lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the wits and artiſts of his day, and was the ſame here for the arts, that he had been in the imperial army, where he had had as much to encounter with from folly and ſuperſtition, as from the largeſt hoſts of the enemy. The monks, particularly the jeſuits, reſiſted his benign influence as long as they could. In Charles the VIths'. time no kind of literature was held in eſteem, except that which related to merchandize and finance. A few days ago there fell into my hands a book, which, without a doubt, is the beſt publication of thoſe dull times; it treats of finance, and, though written in moſt barbarous German, lays down the beſt principles of this ſcience. Theſe, however, no king has followed but the King of Pruſſia, who has availed himſelf of them, to the no ſlight detriment of the country in which the book was written. The author's name was *Schroeder*; he was in the Emperor's ſervice. Every thing, however, except finance, was in utter darkneſs, and even the ſermons were farces. Towards the end of the laſt reign, things began to be upon a better footing; but the Empreſs, who, with all her excellencies, has a weak ſide,

which is that of wanting to make all her ſubjects angels, ſees every improvement that is propoſed, only as it regards her religion; beſides this, ſhe has a little of the Spaniſh etiquette left about her, and loves old unpolluted nobility.

Notwithſtanding the care the Empreſs takes of the morality of her ſubjects, all the charities depend upon the court alone for their ſupport. We meet here with no *curê of St. Sulpice* to raiſe 300,000 livres a year for the relief of the neceſſitous. The Archbiſhop Migazzi is as bigotted and as dependant on the papal hierarchy as our Beaumont, but he gives no million of livres yearly out of his income to ſecret diſtreſs, as the good Archbiſhop of Paris does. I queſtion whether it would be poſſible, upon any occaſion, to get a collection of 10000 guilders from hence. Though Vienna has ſeveral houſes in it with which the moſt opulent in Paris cannot be compared, pride, gallantry, and diſſipation, are all the feelings the people of this place are ſuſceptible of. Though moſt of the richeſt people have been for years oppreſſed with debts, they have not yet learned to confine their expences, and would think it a ſhame to live within bounds. As to the middling orders, they live from hand to mouth, and are well ſatisfied if they can make the two ends of the year meet.

Œconomy is a term entirely baniſhed from the place. Every thing ſwills and lives for the pleaſure of ſenſe only.

LETTER XXI.

Vienna.

THE police of this place is entirely taken up with the object of ſuppreſſing every thing that indicates vigour and manly ſtrength; that, however, is not the beſt police, whoſe only object is to make every member of ſociety as ſecure as poſſible, but that which knows how to give the greateſt ſecurity to the whole, and at the ſame time encroaches as little as poſſible upon the freedom of individuals. It is certain, that by ſetting watches about every citizen's houſe to take an account of what is going forward at his table and in his bed, and to follow the ſeveral members of his family wherever they go, you may guard effectually againſt diſorder; but who is there that exiſts on earth, and loves the order that is kept up amongſt galley-ſlaves?

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The wiſe creator, whoſe government ought to be the model of every wiſe legiſlature, left us that free will which we ſo often abuſe. He gave us ſtrong incitements to good, without taking away the power of doing evil. In this liberty, notwithſtanding the miſchiefs which ariſe from it, conſiſts the true greatneſs of man. Religion teaches us, that in his own good time God will puniſh the wicked and reward the good. Without the freedom to do ill, we ſhould have neither moral feelings nor moral happineſs, and God would not be righteous towards us.

We cannot follow a better model of legiſlation and police, than what is ſet us by the Creator. As it is the buſineſs of legiſlation to puniſh the wicked without partiality, and reward the good with a liberal hand; ſo the police, which is ſubordinate to it, ought to have no other object than to give it the means of rewarding virtue and puniſhing vice. To go farther than this, and endeavour to make moral evil phyſically impoſſible, is an offence both againſt God and man.

Human juſtice knows of no evils but thoſe which ſpring from offences which are hurtful to ſociety; ſhe and her handmaid the police have no right to turn a tribunal of juſtice into a

tribunal of confeſſion, nor imperiouſly to extend their power to the internal morals of a man. Even if the generality of mankind had much more worth of character, and much greater moral feelings than they have, yet ought there not to be ſuch an inquiſition as ſubſiſts in this place, by the eſtabliſhment of the conſiſtorial police and other courts.

Probably Vienna is the only city in the world which has a court called a ſpecial commiſſion of chaſtity. A few years ago the ſpies of this extraordinary tribunal uſed to follow the young people into their houſes; not only ſo, they uſed to break into their bedchambers and viſit their beds in the middle of the night. The horror which this raiſed in ſociety was ſo univerſal, that the Emperor found himſelf obliged to uſe all his influence with his mother (who promiſed herſelf great things from theſe exertions), to obtain ſome limitations of them. The ſpies of the police were in contract with the whores; theſe uſed to decoy the young men to their houſes, and when they were together betray them. The young people had then nothing for it but to allow themſelves to be plundered, in order to avoid being carried before the commiſſion of chaſtity, and the ſpies and the whores divided the booty between them. The evil is

now

now in ſome degree corrected by the interpoſition of the Emperor, but the public walk called the *Prater* is ſtill ſurrounded by tenanted ſpies, who trace the young men to trees and buſhes, in order to prevent offences that are only poſſible, and have not actually been given.

It is the opinion here, that the beſt way of preventing fornication and child-murder, and of increaſing population, is to compel a man who has a child ſworn to him to marry the woman immediately. I was told a curious ſtory on this ſubject. A young man was ſummoned before the conſiſtory, to make anſwer to a young woman who claimed him for a huſband. As he was in the outer chamber waiting for her, he ſaw another poor young woman who was come there on a like errand. Having made himſelf acquainted with all the circumſtances of her caſe, and finding that the ſuppoſed father of her child was fled, and not likely to appear, he offered her a good ſum, if ſhe would take him in the ſtead, and date her complaint prior to the time of that which he expected to be brought againſt him. She promiſed him that ſhe would do ſo, and he went to the judges, full of confidence in the ſucceſs of his project. The court having aſked him whether he had ſlept with the perſon before him, and he having con-

feſſed, he was told that he was a father, and muſt give the woman his hand. To this he made anſwer, that he had no objection, but that there was a perſon in the anti-chamber, who had older claims upon him. Upon her being called in, it appeared viſibly that ſhe was farther gone than the other. The firſt plaintiff was therefore ordered to content herſelf with a ſum of gold, and go away. The young man now pleaded, that he had compounded matters with the other lady; but, to his inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment, ſhe denied it. The judges then aſked for witneſſes, and he having none to produce, he was obliged to give his hand to one, whom he had ſeen a quarter of an hour before, for the firſt time in his life.

I know ſeveral men who have been made huſbands of in this manner. Their wives, for a time, drove on a general trade quietly with their cuſtomers. When theſe began to fail, they picked one out of the number, whom they thought would make a good huſband, and ſummoned him before the court. The proof of having ſlept together, even without any conſequences having followed, was deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh a claim. Some of theſe very honourable pairs are known by the whole town.

I know

I know of another method to prevent whoring and child-murder, much more effectual than this is; but then unluckily it does not ſo well anſwer the other object which theſe legiſlators have in view, namely, the increaſe of population. Shakeſpeare is the author of the police I would propoſe. I do not remember in which of his plays it is that he makes a Vienna bawd ſay, "If the police will effectually baniſh fornication, it ſhould caſtrate all the men."

Theſe marriages by compulſion are attended with very pernicious conſequences, both to ſociety and the ſtate. I do not know whether they prevent fornication; but it is certain that they much increaſe adultery. Truth, confidence, and love, the moſt holy and moſt uſeful bands of ſociety, they entirely diſſolve. The man, who, from the circumſtance of his having been compelled to give her his hand, is obliged to conſider his wife as a whore, cannot be her true friend, cannot have that reſpect for her which is abſolutely requiſite to make a happy marriage. It is, indeed, aſtoniſhing how indifferent the married people of this place are to each other. I know that this is the caſe at Paris too; but there it ariſes from the manners, and not from the government, as it does here. Nor, indeed, are conjugal love and fidelity ſo extinct amongſt perſons

perſons of the middling rank in ſociety at Paris, as they ſeem to be in this place. I believe, too, that even population, which this fooliſh law is intended to promote, ſuffers conſiderably by it; for it is an obſervation which has often been made, both by moraliſts and phyſicians, that, without love betwixt the parties, the marriage bed often proves barren. Moſt of the pairs I am acquainted with, who have been married by compulſion, are without children, and in general the marriage bed is not fruitful here.—The indifference of the parents for each other likewiſe extends to the children, amongſt whom all the fine feelings of love and friendſhip are ſtifled in early infancy. It is, no doubt, owing to this want of the affections of ſocial and domeſtic life, that the people of this place have ſo few moral feelings as they have.

It is true, indeed, that every thing has its good as well as it weak ſide. The conſequence of this people's want of ſpirit is, that their vices are as few and as weak as their virtues. Nothing is heard here of the tragedies which are ſo frequent at London, Rome, and Naples. Pick-pockets, cheats, bankrupts, thieves, ſpendthrifts, pimps, and bawds, are the only criminals known in Vienna. The Auſtrian has not ſtrength of character enough

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to be a highwayman; and a Saxon gentleman, who has been ſettled here ſome years, and has travelled over the whole country, aſſures me, that he does not remember to have heard of ſuch a thing as a duel. I was witneſs to a ſcene yeſterday which ſtrongly marks the character both of the people and the police of this place. A well dreſſed man had a quarrel with a hackney coachman about his fare. They ſoon came to high words. One of the ſix hundred ſpies, who are divided about different parts of the city, came up. The gentleman grew warm and gave bad words, which the other returned with intereſt. At length they ſhook their fiſts at each other, but neither ventured to ſtrike; for it ſeems there is a law, by which, whoever ſtrikes firſt is puniſhed, let the previous provocation have been what it will. Had either but touched the hat of the other, it would have been reckoned a blow, and he would have been immediately taken up by the watch. As it was, they parted, after affording a quarter of an hour's laugh to the populace. The duration of theſe frays may be longer or ſhorter, *ad libitum*; but there are few examples of their ever being carried farther than words.

The court has nothing to fear from a revolt. In the beginning of the laſt century, indeed, the pro-

proteſtants made a little ſtir; but all was ſoon quiet again. Indeed, the Viennois is too enervate for an inſurrection. On the other hand, he feels nothing of the warm glow which fills the breaſt of a French or Engliſhman for the ſucceſſes of his country. The ſeveral provinces of France have frequently made great preſents to their kings in time of war, and we have often ſeen collections made in coffee-houſes for building ſhips of the line. Here there are very few, if any, inſtances of this kind. Subordination is the only characteriſtic feature of this people; nor have I ever ſeen a ſpark here either of the Engliſhman's love of liberty, or the Frenchman's feeling for the honour of the *grand* monarch. The pride even of the army is too perſonal, ever to admit of any ſenſibility for the honour of the ſtate. The ſongs of the French ſoldier are, as you well know, poems which inſpirit and lead him on to glory, by reminding him of what his anceſtors have done and ſuffered for their country; but here I ſeldom hear the ſoldier ſing at all, and when he does, it is mere ribaldry. Not, however, that I doubt but that, in ſpite of their bad ſinging, an Auſtrian army would put a French one to the route; but that is owing to another cauſe. I only diſcuſs this ſubject *en paſſant*, and ſhall reſerve myſelf

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to ſpeak more fully to it, when I come to Berlin.

The individuals of a country which exiſts only by ſubordination, will of courſe be weak and feeble characters. It is true, that the moſt illimited obedience did Sparta no harm; but the reaſon was, becauſe it was not the reigning feature of the people, but only a means of ſecuring the freedom after which the nation thirſted. The Britiſh laws are ſome of them very ſevere, and the diſcipline of their navy as ſtrict as that of the Pruſſian army; but as theſe ſeverities do not run through the whole of their government, they do not deſtroy the feelings of the people. Though no nation has ſo much checked the power of their kings at different periods as the Britiſh has done, yet the hiſtory of no nation affords more inſtances of the devotion of individuals to the ſovereign. The ſame love which the Engliſhman has for liberty extends to the perſon of the prince, whenever the prince leaves the conſtitution unimpaired and manifeſts a love for it.—The upſhot is, that the Briton will preſerve ſtrength of character as long as the conſtitution of his country laſts; whereas the ſubjects of deſpotic princes will be weak and grovelling in ſpirit.

The great, whoſe firſt paſſion is the love of power, will of courſe conſider ſtrength of character

racter in their ſubjects or dependants, as a natural enemy whom they muſt ſeek to ſubdue. Conſequently their object will be to make the ſtate to which they belong a machine in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, a machine of which their will is to be the only ſoul. Such machines at this day are even armies become, and it is a true remark, made by ſeveral writers both of theſe and other great machines of ſtate, that the weaker every individual member is, the more durable and the ſtronger the whole will be. I know it, I confeſs it; all I deſire is, not to be the member of ſuch a *corps*. The government of this place endeavours to make ſome amends for the univerſal ſubjection under which the people are held, by a moſt exact adminiſtration of juſtice, by taking meaſures for univerſal ſecurity, and by the free admiſſion and encouragement of every pleaſure (the ſingle one of lawleſs love alone excepted) that can delight the human mind. Whilſt in France a country gentleman may be thrown in priſon by a governor of a province, and continue there all his life, the loweſt footman here, is aſſured of having the ſtricteſt juſtice done him, if he has occaſion to complain of his lord, even though he were the lord high chamberlain. The police is ſo vigilant and acute, that the moſt ſubtle thefts are commonly

monly diſcovered, and the owner gets his goods again. Almoſt all the Imperial houſes and gardens are almoſt conſtantly open to the public. The players are under the peculiar protection of a court, who ſhews, in every thing, that the reſtraint it lays the people under ariſes more from principle than the deſire of tyrannizing over them. And yet, notwithſtanding all this pleaſure, and all this ſecurity, I had rather be expoſed to a London footpad, or have the bottles and glaſſes whiſtle round my head on the laſt night of Vauxhall, than enjoy all the placid tranquillity of this place. Theſe laſt are diſorders, indeed, but they are diſorders which are inſeparable from a ſtrong national character, ſuch as is that of the people by whom they are committed.

LETTER XXII.

Vienna.

AS ſoon as the Emperor governs this country alone, a revolution will take place here, that will render the preſent inhabitants a phœnomenon to the next generation. He is a philoſopher

loſopher in the true ſenſe of the word, although he does not, like Rodolph the Second, gaze at the ſtars with Tycho Brahe. He loves mankind, and is acquainted with their value. I know no public inſcription that does a prince more honour, than that which is over the gate of the public garden here. "A place of pleaſure "for all men, prepared for them by their friend." Joſeph is a profeſſed admirer of all that is called private virtue *(les vertus bourgeoiſes)*, and his principles of government are as republican as thoſe of moſt of the ſtates who at this day call themſelves republics. Hitherto, however, the different way of thinking of his mother has prevented much of his theory from being carried into practice.

The bright ſides of this Empreſs's character are ſo ſtriking, that one can hardly obſerve the darker ones. In private life, indeed, ſuch ſmall ſpots would appear not only venial, but in ſome degree reſpectable; but it is the misfortune of greatneſs, that the ſmalleſt weakneſs of the governor has often a ſenſible influence on the happineſs of the governed, ſo that the leaſt perſonal vices are often the greateſt political defects.

Whoever ſees the Empreſs now, diſcovers that ſhe has been a beauty. Within theſe few years

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ſhe has begun to be ſubject to ſome of the infirmities of advancing age; but the beſt judges ſtill diſcern a ſtrong conſtitution and lively temperament in her. I ſaw her for the firſt time in the church of the Auguſtine Friars, where ſhe was attending a religious ceremony, and immediately recogniſed her, not ſo much by her likeneſs to her pictures (from the truth of which age has of courſe taken a great deal), as by the air of majeſty which ſtrikes every one who has the honour to approach her. She has the ſtrongeſt paſſions, but has never been ſubdued to the leaſt unworthineſs, by thoſe to which nature in general the moſt inclines, and which her conſtitution the more particularly expoſes her to. *Poſſibly* ſhe is an *only*, *moſt certainly* a *ſingular* inſtance of a princeſs, over whom religion and honour have had more influence than the demands of an impetuous conſtitution, and the allurements of unlimited power. This probably aroſe from her having herſelf choſen her huſband, who was the man of his day moſt likely to ſecure the affections of a woman. To him ſhe was paſſionately devoted; but her affections never wandered a ſtep beyond the bounds of the ſtricteſt decorum. Vainly has ſcandal endeavoured to find out anecdotes to feed on in her life. Ten well made

ſtrong children yet living, are ſo many witneſſes that her huſband poſſeſſed all her love. At his death, ſhe forbad herſelf all farther thoughts of the paſſion, and made a vow to lament him for ever; a vow to which ſhe has religiouſly adhered. She is always dreſſed in black, and wears no ornament of any kind. Who, that is acquainted with the hiſtory of Eliſabeth, K———, and ſo many other ſovereigns, can help being aſtoniſhed when they read this?

Her warm love, however, made her huſband paſs many a weary hour. It was impoſſible for jealouſy not to have great power over a heart, the violence of whoſe motions was only kept in by a ſenſe of religion. It is not very certain whether ſhe had ever real grounds for ſuſpicion; but every body at Vienna remembers that a certain lady was obliged to leave it, becauſe the Emperor, who was very courteous towards every body, but particularly ſo to the ladies, had made her ſome common-place, unmeaning compliments.

The Empreſs's benevolence, of which religion is the principle, approaches almoſt to profuſion. She refuſes relief to none of thoſe who ſtand in need of her aſſiſtance; and the meaneſt of her ſubjects finds the way to make his diſtreſſes known

known to her. Her ſteward has hardly any thing to lay before her, but accounts of charities. Her liberality particularly ſhews itſelf towards widows, eſpecially ſuch as are of high birth. Many perſons, amongſt whom are widows of miniſters of ſtate, receive penſions of 6000 guilders (300l.) from her. Her partiality to high birth makes her deſirous that every perſon ſhould live up to his, or her rank. With reſpect to the public foundations of charity, ſhe behaves as an empreſs ſhould do. The library, ſchools, hoſpitals, and poor-houſes, coſt her immenſe ſums. I am aſſured, that the debts ſhe has contracted by this liberality amount to upwards of twenty millions of guilders; and one of my friends informed me, that ſhe gives away three millions per annum in private charity.

Who now would imagine that, under ſo worthy a character, merit often ſtarves, whilſt large ſums are laviſhed upon the worthleſs? Who would imagine, that the prejudices of religion could have ſo far gotten the better of her natural diſpoſition, as to make her refuſe aſſiſting an officer who had been crippled in her ſervice, unleſs he embraced the Roman Catholic religion? After ſeveral converſations with the prieſt ſent to him by the Empreſs, this gentleman plainly perceived that he muſt turn ſcoun-

drel, to be relieved. He determined therefore to quit Vienna; which he did, and went to Holland, where he died a general officer. Since the preſent Emperor has begun to have an influence in buſineſs, merit has no longer any ſuch oppreſſion to fear, but it muſt ſtill make uſe of all its weight to break through this ſpecies of obſtacles, which however at all times are more the work of the prieſts, than of the Empreſs.

Her impetuous temper often breaks out into groſs guſts of paſſion and anger; but as ſoon as the ſtorm is paſt, ſhe endeavours to make amends for the miſchief or injury ſhe may have done whilſt it raged. I was told an anecdote, which if not entirely true, yet gives a great inſight into this part of her character. An officer, who had a favour to aſk, had his name written down in the liſt of thoſe who wanted audiences. He waited a long time, till his turn (which is religiouſly obſerved) came to be introduced. At length he was called in, but he had hardly made his obedience to the Empreſs, according to the Spaniſh etiquette, when ſhe broke out into ſuch a ſtorm of opprobrious abuſe, as almoſt made him ſink to the ground. Her vivacity made her eyes roll with fire, and the motion of her arms was

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rendered ſo quick by it, that the man was afraid ſhe might do a *little* execution upon him, with her own *high* hand. Twice, or thrice he attempted to put in a word, but the ſtorm of the monarch's indignation was too ſtrong to be controlled, and he was forced to wait till ſhe was fairly out of breath. He then muſtered up all his courage, and ſaid, "Surely your majeſty muſt have forgotten I am "N. N." As ſoon as ſhe found that ſhe had been miſtaken in the perſon, ſhe made him a formal excuſe, and her deſire to ſet all things right again carried her ſo far another way, that ſhe ſettled an handſome penſion on him. She is by no means proof againſt pride, but is proud of the dignity, and the greatneſs of her houſe. She weeps tears of joy as often as ſhe hears how her children, particularly the Emperor and the Queen of France are beloved by all the world. This family pride, joined to her quick feelings, are the cauſe why ſhe conſiders all the princes who have been at war with her, at any time, as her perſonal enemies, and has never forgiven any of them. The Emperor's laſt wife, who was a Bavarian princeſs, had cauſe to regret her father's having attempted to rob the Empreſs of Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the Imperial Crown. She made her *feel*

the ſuperiority of the houſe of Auſtria, over the houſe of Bavaria.—Thus far is true, but the fables which have been raiſed on this foundation are too wild even to deſerve a ſerious refutation.

Fame has not reported falſely of this great princeſs. She is a true woman, and it is by the amiable paſſions of her own ſex that ſhe is moſt diſtinguiſhed. She was not at all offended at being told by the relation of another great ſovereign, whom ſhe was complimenting on the reputation of his friend, "May it pleaſe "your majeſty, my ſiſter is ſtill *only* a *woman*." All the tints in Thereſa's character are ſhades of a lively *female* character. She was the trueſt, but the moſt jealous of wives; the moſt affectionate, but at the ſame time the ſevereſt of mothers; the moſt friendly, but at the ſame time the moſt imperious mother-in-law.

Her character, however, has ſometimes riſen beyond the ſtrength of a man. The reſolution with which ſhe defended her hereditary dominions againſt ſo many powers united to oppreſs her, excited the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. Her love of juſtice is ſo great, that ſhe immediately deſiſts from any pretenſions ſhe has formed, which are not reconcileable with it,

when ſhe is ſhewn that they are not ſo. Though the King of Pruſſia knows that ſhe bears him a grudge (which ſhe will carry with her to her grave), he is ſo ſatisfied of the general rectitude of her principles, that whenever they have a diſpute, his only care is to have his reaſons properly ſtated to the Empreſs herſelf, by his embaſſador. The nobility of Genoa, as I was informed by an officer who took a great part in the revolution of 1746, exclaimed with one voice, "O, if it were poſſible to bring our "grievances before the Empreſs herſelf, we "ſhould be ſure of obtaining relief." The cry of theſe Republicans at the time when they were moſt ſorely oppreſſed by Auſtrian armies, was the fineſt praiſe that Thereſa could have heard,—but ſhe heard it not.

Amidſt the various ſpecies of knowledge ſhe poſſeſſes, there is one which unluckily fails her, the knowledge of mankind. According to the cuſtom of her houſe, ſhe was bred up in an elevation which has not allowed of her ſeeing with her own eyes the neceſſities of ordinary life, and the true intereſts of the people ſhe reigns over. Her whole education was ſo conducted as to make her the dupe of flatterers, who made her believe that nobles and prieſts were a ſuperior order of men

to laymen and common people. Prieſts and flatterers have at times betrayed her into actions which her heart would ſhudder at, if ſhe could ſee them in their right light. An inſtance of this was given ſome years ago, when, in an inſurrection of the Bohemian peaſants, the Emperor endeavoured to obtain the abolition of the feudal tenures. This he did becauſe he knew the true ſituation of theſe poor ſlaves, who did not themſelves know what they deſired, but were only driven to what they did by hunger. There was indeed little to lay to their charge beſides having hunted ſome barons out of bed; but the wives of the Bohemian nobles ſo far prevailed upon the Empreſs, with their tears, that ſoldiers were ſent into the country, and many poor people were hanged as traitors, who were in fact only the victims of hunger. As this happened in the memorable year of ſcarcity over all Europe, when Bohemia, notwithſtanding the natural riches of its agriculture, was reduced to the greateſt neceſſity, and as the Emperor well knew that the principal cauſe of it was owing to the avarice of the great landlords, particularly of the prieſts, he endeavoured to take off the ſervitude of the lower orders; but his mother's attachment to the nobility prevented a meaſure, which would

have made a country ſo favoured by nature as Bohemia is, one of the moſt flouriſhing in the world. The Empreſs made it a matter of conſcience to deprive a ſmall part of her ſubjects of the leaſt part of their income by ſuch a meaſure, but never bethought herſelf, that the nobility and prieſts conſumed in idleneſs the ſweat and blood of ſo many thouſand people.

A deſpotic prince, who has not a ſufficient knowledge of the world, to ſee through the people who ſurround him, is the moſt dependant man in his country. Notwithſtanding all her attention to ſo many various matters, and notwithſtanding all her power, the good Empreſs cannot prevent herſelf from being cheated by all who approach her. She imagines that ſhe prevents every ſin by her eſtabliſhments of chaſtity, and does not know how many adultereſſes ſhe makes by them. She would indeed be aſtoniſhed, if ſhe could ſee only a part of the horns, which the men of this place carry about with them under their peruques. It is ſaid, that the Empreſs inſiſts upon the young women, particularly thoſe who are brought up in the *Thereſianum*, tying their hair, &c. in a particular manner; but, notwithſtanding theſe ribbands of chaſtity, I have been aſſured by a counteſs, who was brought up in this ſeminary,

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that groſſer vices prevailed there, than any againſt which the commiſſion of chaſtity is directed. I know a woman, who in order to get herſelf, and her *handſome* daughter a maintenance, procured the latter an engagement upon a ſmall theatre, which hardly brings her in enough to buy pins for her hair. We know that at Paris the theatre is more a title to a maintenance than a maintenance of itſelf; but there is this difference betwixt the countries, here the mother carries her cheap daughter from a rehearſal to church, where both tell their beads with down-caſt eyes, and the moſt pious looks, in order to bring themſelves into a reputation of ſanctity with the police. By this means, perſons who love their pleaſures, and yet wiſh to be well with the Empreſs, know no better way of compaſſing both theſe objects, than by viſiting the churches. Another inſtance of hypocriſy. There is a well known man of letters here, *who tranſlated a prayer-book* from the French, and dedicated it to the Empreſs as an original compoſition, with the view of obtaining a place, together with the preſent cuſtomary upon thoſe occaſions. The plan ſucceeded; the Empreſs conſidered him as a pious man, and he had a reward; but he was ſo loſt to ſhame, as to make ſport of

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the good woman's credulity in the circle of his friends. The ſame thing takes place with regard to the prohibition of books. The queen would ſink to the ground, if ſhe could ſee one of the thouſand private libraries in Vienna, which contain all the heretical, and all the ſcandalous writers which ſhe conceives her college of cenſure, and her *Index Expurgatorius*, which is thicker than that of Rome, to have baniſhed from the country for ever. So it is with ſeveral of her other inſtitutions, the inefficacy of which ſhews they are fit for nothing but to make hypocrites.

LETTER XXIII.

Vienna.

IN order to have any idea of the government of this place, it is neceſſary to attend to the three contending parties of the ſtate. The firſt and ſtrongeſt is that of the Empreſs; it conſiſts of the great perſonage herſelf, Cardinal Migazzi the archbiſhop, ſome monks, principally capuchines, and a few old ladies who make their court to the Empreſs by imitating her peculiarities. This party is always

pregnant

pregnant with commiſſions of chaſtity, prohibitions of books, driving away dangerous preachers and profeſſors, increaſing the papal power, and perſecuting the new philoſophy. Great part of the old nobility, whoſe prerogatives ſtand upon the ſame ground as thoſe of the prieſthood, adhere very ſtrongly to this party.

The ſecond party is that of the Emperor, and it is at perpetual war with the former. This party employs itſelf in the improvement of legiſlation, and the promotion of agriculture, trade, and induſtry of all kinds; in the extenſion of philoſophy and taſte; in curtailing the exorbitant pretenſions of the nobles; in the protection of the lower claſſes againſt the higher,—and in whatever can make gods of men. One of the principal perſons of this party is Marſhal Lacy, who carries on a moſt unremitting war againſt the monks, and their adherents. This able general acts here juſt as he did when he was opponent to the King of Pruſſia; and the Emperor and he are always occupied in planning zig-zag-marches, and counter-marches, and retreats; ſo that General Migazzi, and his brown, black, white, half-black, half-white troops are often obliged to go into winter quarters, without having effect-

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ed any ſlaughter at all. Theſe two parties, who are open enemies, have, however, ſome intercourſe with each other through the medium of a third, at the head of which is the celebrated Count Kaunitz.

Count Kaunitz, the greateſt ſtateſman of our day, and a man who, by great ſervices to the imperial houſe, has worked himſelf into the confidence both of the Empreſs and her ſon, is worthy to be the mediator between them. In his heart he is more favourable to the Emperor's party, than to that of his mother; but he is obliged to appear a kind of middle-man, and to give his own philoſophical operations that kind of religious caſt without which they would not go down. He often covers the marches of the Emperor and his great field-marſhal, by which means, as alert as Migazzi is, he is often forced to capitulate before he knows that the enemy is in the field. Kaunitz diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his ſtyle of living, and mode of expence. Theſe are entirely French, and moſt magnificent. As nothing can be more contrary to the Emperor's rigid œconomy, than ſuch a way of life; it is not certain but that the count, though nothing can ſhake him, his merits are ſo well known, may upon a change be obliged to an alteration in this reſpect,

ſpect, which his age, and the habits he has contracted, would make unpleaſing to him.

What with the erection of new ſchools, and the care to prevent the erection of new cloiſters, the battles about new books, and the recommendations to civil and military employments, all the three parties have ſufficiently to do. The laſt point, eſpecially, gives them conſtant work. There is hardly an employment vacant, but the Empreſs is wearied with recommendations from her ladies and prieſts; and the Emperor, whoſe candidate is commonly the man of moſt merit, is almoſt always ſure to come too late. There are a great number of ſinecure offices in the country, but many counſellors and aſſeſſors have either nothing to do, or put in deputies to do their buſineſs for a very little money.—The luxury in which theſe people live is beyond conception. *His honour* (for every pettyfogging judge of the court of conſcience is *his honour*) muſt have his gentleman; and *her honour*, the wife, muſt have her waiting lady—nor is it as it is with us, where between the gentleman and the footman there are no intermediate ranks: here there muſt be a *maitre d'hotel* and a ſecretary; and as *his honour* has great buſineſs every where but in his own court, he muſt likewiſe have his

his coach. In a word, there is not a court in Europe, except the Turkiſh, which pays its ſervants of the ſecond order ſo well as this does, and yet is ſo ill ſerved by them.

For ſeveral years the Empreſs has given up the direction of the army entirely to her ſon, and one ſees immediately, from the very different ſtyle of arrangement which prevails here from that which obtains in the civil and eccleſiaſtical departments, by whom it is governed. Though the peaſantry of the Auſtrian dominions have always been ſoldiers, the finances of the court were in ſuch diſorder, till the times of the laſt Emperor, that the Dutch and Engliſh were always forced to pay ſubſidies. The Emperor Francis laid the foundation of the greatneſs of the country; but that it is becoming every day more and more formidable, is owing to one man, who unites in his perſon, not only the intellect neceſſary to carry on the greateſt enterprizes, but alſo the greateſt knowledge of diſcipline, and the œconomical arrangements of an army; I mean General Lacy, without a doubt one of the greateſt geniuſes of the preſent century. How little, indeed, do ſome of the greateſt wits of the age appear in compariſon of a man who goes into the cabinet to plan arrangements againſt the united

united powers of all Europe—then runs through an army of 250000 men, ſo as to pay attention to the ſmalleſt article of the ſoldiers clothing;—at one inſtant, with the happieſt combination of ideas and conjecture of probabilities, lays plans of marches and ſieges,—the next writes to the taylor and ſhoemaker of the army to give the clothes a better cut, and the ſhoes a better ſlit;—then entertains himſelf with the Emperor, in laying plans for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, and the greater concerns of the ſtate;—then lays himſelf out to endeavour to ſimplify the moſt trifling military manœuvre; then walks through the ſtore-houſes, and gives orders for the better arrangement of the ſtores; and in the next half hour moralizes in the Socratic manner upon any event that happens. In a word, if the power of carrying on ſeveral uſeful purſuits well at one and the ſame time is to mark the character of a man, there are few to be compared with the field-marſhall. Indeed, whoever knows at all what knowledge of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery of an army is requiſite to ſet theſe great maſſes in motion, will wonder how the head that can do this can attend to the buttons of a ſoldier's ſpatterdaſhes. And yet, would you think it! with all this, and a great deal more merit

merit in a thouſand different ways, this great man (I blush for humanity whilſt I write it!) is univerſally hated, not only by all the people of faſhion, but by the army whoſe father he is! The reaſon is a very evident one; before his time every captain had an opportunity of cheating his ſovereign, by furniſhing the ſoldiers of his company with every article of clothing, and thoſe of a higher rank had a fellow feeling with the paymaſter, and divided the contents of the military cheſt between them. That is now all at an end; the ſoldier is ſupplied out of the Emperor's warehouſes with every poſſible article for which he can have occaſion, and he receives his pay the moment it is due; he is better clothed than any ſoldier in Europe, and accuſtomed to a thrift which cannot but contribute to the increaſe both of his health and ſtrength. All the marſhal reaps in return for this is to be laughed at and deſpiſed. The monks, who know that he is not their friend, do all they can to make him unpopular; but he is wiſe enough to laugh at all they can do, and even to amuſe himſelf with the thoughts of doing good for which he receives no thanks.

As for the black band under Migazzi, it is divided into two parties. One of theſe thinks

with the cardinal, i. e. true Bellarmine like, and never miſſes an opportunity of introducing an ex-jeſuit, when it is poſſible. This, however, is the ſmalleſt in number; nor can Migazzi now and then prevent a wolf from being ſhut up with his ſheep; there are even ſome biſhops who only wait the Emperor's permiſſion to fall to and level his hierarchy with the ground. In the mean time, however, the cardinal does what he can to keep the public ſchools and churches free from the infection. A few years ago, a monk took it into his head to preach that, "Prieſts "owe the ſame ſubjection to the civil power as "the loweſt of its ſubjects—as they enjoy the "ſame protection and prerogatives as theſe, "they are bound in the ſame manner to take "upon them the offices of the ſtate. The church, "partly from its own uſurpations, partly from "the weakneſs of temporal ſovereigns, has "riſen, in times of darkneſs, to a height where "the firſt Chriſtians would not know it again. "Every prince is obliged to promote the good "of the church as far as it coincides with the "good of the ſtate, &c. &c." The cardinal, who in general does not like ſermons, immediately marked his prey. The Emperor at firſt took the monk's part with great ſpirit; this made the cunning archbiſhop hold his hand; but as ſoon

as the Emperor had ſat out on his travels, the monk was immediately ſeized and ſent priſoner to a convent in Upper Auſtria, where he ſtill remains, whilſt the Emperor has nothing for it, but to ſet down theſe and many other *traits* of the ſame kind in the book of his remembrance.

The great triumph of the archiepiſcopal party ſhews itſelf in the licenſing of books. Nothing can be well conceived more grievous than the ſituation of the licenſers of the preſs, many of whom are very ſenſible worthy men. They are often forced to alter almoſt the whole of a MS. and after all remain anſwerable for whatever an old court lady, a monk, a fool, or a knave, may ſee obnoxious in it when it comes out; but their hardeſt work is to manage what is publiſhed with regard to the country; for one grand principle obtains here, which is, that nothing which is Auſtrian can be bad. What the ſtate of literature is under all theſe diſcouragements ſhall be the ſubject of my next letter.

LETTER XXIV.

Vienna.

THE powers of the ſoul are like the powers of the body; as the various exerciſes of ſwimming, boxing, dancing, and running, give ſtrength and poliſh to the one, which a continued ſtate of reſt would inevitably deprive it of, ſo to develope the powers of the ſoul of a people, the mind muſt have its gymnaſtic exerciſes too. Freedom of motion is to the body, what freedom of thought is to the ſoul, and unnatural compulſion renders body and ſoul alike torpid and ſtiff.

Of all the nations mentioned in hiſtory, the Greeks and Romans, were thoſe whoſe philoſophy was the leaſt united with their religion; and it was probably owing to this cauſe, that their ſpirits received an impulſe which the Ægyptians, Babylonians, and Chaldæans, never knew. Philoſophy, and whatever was called ſcience among theſe laſt, were the ſpecial property of the prieſts, whoſe intereſt demanded that they ſhould be ſmothered in hieroglyphics, and kept from the people. The little that ſome learned Greeks gleaned from their voyages to the Nile

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and Euphrates, were not the productions of a fruitful genius; but only tedious inveſtigations, which the ſlow and progreſſive labours of monks had traced out. Their celebrated philoſophy did nothing for the people; it had nothing benevolent in it; nothing that purified taſte or ſentiment; nothing that extended the comforts of ſocial life, or advanced the progreſs of legiſlation. It was the dry reſult of ſolitary ſtudies, and the people who could not underſtand its drift, took no ſhare in it.

When more modern Rome wove the web of power, and endeavoured to gain the maſtery over mankind, by commanding their opinions, it was natural that all the arts and ſciences ſhould be ſubjected to religion. The figure of the earth, the ſpots of the ſun, and the whole of the Copernican ſyſtem were to be reconciled to the *letter* of ſcripture, the fathers, the councils, and the papal bulls. Every thing was referred to religion; and had not the pope endeavoured to ſubject the power of princes to it, we ſhould ſtill have been in the darkneſs of the eleventh century.

Long after the reformation, the cuſtom of looking upon every thing with religious ſpectacles ſtill continued. The proteſtant prieſts could not forego the old cuſtom of being the

arbiters of morality. It is true, that by the ſeparation they undermined their own power; but they did it by degrees, and without being conſcious of the conſequences. Though Luther permitted the temporal princes to ſeize the eſtates of the eccleſiaſtics, it is evident, from his writings, that as a reformer of the church he placed himſelf far above all the powers of this world. Calvin's inſolence and ſpirit of oppreſſion in religious matters is well known. Their followers long maintained their uſurped domination over the temporal powers, and the regions of ſcience. Some of them are ſtill in poſſeſſion of it at this day. We muſt do our author the juſtice to acknowledge, that it is the firſt ſince the times of the Greeks and Romans, in which true freedom of thought, and a philoſophy really beneficial to mankind, has appeared.

No doubt but the Engliſh have greatly taken the lead in theſe matters. That they did ſo, was owing to the ſpirit of their conſtitution in ſome degree; but ſtill more to the eſtabliſhed toleration of ſo many ſectaries, who not being united to each other, could eſtabliſh no general plan of tyranny, over the opinions of their fellow-creatures. It was natural for the Engliſh, divided as they are into ſo many ſects, who enjoy almoſt the ſame privileges in the ſtate, by de-

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grees to conſider legiſlation, ſcience, and whatever elſe belongs to ſocial life, as independent of religion; whilſt, on the other hand, the Swediſh and Daniſh prieſts, as well as thoſe of ſome proteſtant republics, would continue to exerciſe their empire over all worldly concerns. The ſpirit of the Engliſhman, fettered by no reſtraints, took the eagle flight, that carried it beyond the rival nations. Their philoſophers allowed themſelves to wander through very contradictory ſpeculations. They had their Cynics, their Pythagoreans, their Platoniſts, their Epicureans, and many others; but they were, like the ancients, all of a mind about the eſſential duties of man, and the difference of their ſpeculations only ſet their oppoſition in a clearer light. Even in the ſciences of calculation, they ſhewed the energy of a genius, that was accuſtomed to allow itſelf to expatiate freely in the various fields of ſcience. It is true, that they often gave into the moſt ridiculous hypotheſis, and the moſt puerile ſuperſtition; but theſe excreſcences of the freedom of thought are as inſeparable from it, as other excreſcences are from civil freedom, nor can you prevent all abuſes, without taking away the thing itſelf that is abuſed.

All I ſhall ſay of our own country, is, that the freedom of thought is much leſs limited in

it by government, than it is in ſeveral countries which call themſelves free, much leſs ſo as to religious matters, than in many proteſtant countries. I muſt now return to Vienna, from whence I have taken a pretty long excurſion.

I had heard ſo much, throughout my journey hither from the Rhine, of the ſtate of the ſchools in Auſtria, and of the great care the Empreſs took in the education of her ſubjects, and for the improvement of arts and ſciences, that I thought of nothing all the way, but finding Vienna a German Athens. It was probably owing to theſe over great expectations that I was ſo much diſappointed. The ſchools for the young children are, of all the public inſtitutions, far the beſt, though many things are taught, even here, which can be of no ſervice in life, and only ſerve to make young pedants, and *charlatans*. Religion, and morals are taught them in a way that can neither warm the heart nor enlighten the head, nor is ſufficient care taken of the morals. Theſe defects are, however, in ſome meaſure ſupplied, by the inſight given into commerce, navigation, agriculture, &c. And it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe ſchools are the only ones I have hitherto ſeen in the catholic ſtates in Germany, in which the children are more taught to be good citizens than good monks.

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Still, however, the two predominant features of this ſtate, blind ſubordination, and a regard for monks, are very prevalent here. But yet I cannot conceive how ſo many families ſtill prefer to truſt their children to the private education of French women (who are commonly caſt-off ſtrumpets, or fooliſh chambermaids, who prefer being governeſſes here, to making fires and warming beds in France); or how ſuch ſwarms of French and Italian abbés, are ſtill allowed to educate the young men. It muſt be allowed, indeed, of the ſchools, that as they are ſtill new inſtitutions, in which there obtains no thorough well-digeſted ſyſtem, and as there are frequently changes made in them, they have not yet had any very ſenſible effect upon the public manners; but it is probable that the next generation will find the advantage of them.

I attended the ſeveral courſes read by the public profeſſors. It is certain that the expence of theſe muſt be very great to the Empreſs. Not only the courſes uſually read elſewhere are free here, but they read upon ſeveral ſubjects which you muſt pay a very high price for with us. Such are the living languages, the ſciences of politics, &c. There prevails, however, ſtill a kind of barbarity, which makes one lament the great expence the ſovereign is at. Mr. Pilati,

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the editor of *Voyages en differens Pays de l'Europe, from* 1774 *to* 1776, says, he has heard it maintained in an Austrian university, "That all the "property of the subject belongs to the sove-"reign." I cannot say quite so much; but I believe that no reader on the law of nature here, would dare to assert, that the sovereign has duties to fulfil towards his subjects, as well as the subjects towards him. I was assured, that the finding this proposition, in the syllabus of a Benedictine of Saltsburg, had given such offence to one of the licensers of the press, that the person who had the book, was desired to send it out of the country. The Roman law too, with all its numerous train of comments, and paraphrases, so far remote from our present constitution and manners, still supports itself in this famous university, and must make the candidates for the professional chair, pedants and false reasoners. As to the *jus publicum*, those who have happened to hear lectures read upon it here, and at Strasburgh, would not believe it to be the law of the same empire. At Strasburgh, Germany is considered as a republic, in which the Emperor only occupies the place of a consul, or dictator; whereas here he is considered as a most absolute monarch. Our own theology is sufficiently barbarous; but here I have heard them read for

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an hour together, *de immaculata conceptione Mariæ*. Another time I heard a ſubtile doctor make very ſerious enquiry, whether, ſuppoſing any man to have had exiſtence before Adam, he would have been tainted with original ſin! As to Chriſtian ethics, they are ſtill taken from *Buſenbaun*, *Voit*, and their fellows. I have heard ſuch laſcivious deſcriptions in the public ſchools as, had they been found in a profane book, would unavoidably have placed it in the *index* of prohibited books. It is true, indeed, that Buſenbaun, in his *Morality for the Stews*, has declared that it is right to read plainly upon morality, even though it ſhould excite ſinful affections in the ſcholars, and even though, thoſe affections ſhould break out into ſinful actions. For he ſays, "it will do the more good at con-"feſſion." As to their metaphyſics, they are the very quinteſſence of pedantry and nonſenſe. Though I was not ſurpriſed to hear a learned profeſſor demonſtrate, that two ſingle ſubſtances could not kiſs and embrace each other, and that it was not impoſſible but that one and the ſame thing, ſhould exiſt in the ſame inſtant a thouſand times in different places; I could not well conceive what my learned man meant to do with this laſt propoſition, which I remembered to have ſeen in a metaphyſical book, till at length

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it ſtruck me, that it was intended to make the people underſtand how the body of Chriſt might be in every conſecrated hoſt from Canton to Berlin, at the ſame inſtant; for every thing here has a reference to religion. What amazed me moſt, however, in my metaphyſician, was, the ſeeming extent of his erudition. There was not a metaphyſician from the *Æthiopian Troglodite* to *John James*, whoſe works he did not ſeem to have read through; he quoted from every language that has ever exiſted, and in the courſe of half an hour confuted at leaſt ſix antagoniſts. He amuſed me, in ſhort, ſo much, that I could not help going often to hear, and get what I could out of him. At length, I borrowed of a ſtudent, who was in the ſame houſe with me, the metaphyſical lecture book he read from, which was written by the Jeſuit Storchenaw. At firſt ſight, you would imagine that this jeſuit had found out the ſecret of making metaphyſics overturn all poſſible knowledge. Not only all the old ſects, ſuch as the Pythagorean, Platonicians, and Epicureans, but likewiſe all the fathers of the church were here collected together. Next to theſe, you find all that has been written in the middle or latter centuries, by Machiavel, Hobbes, Spencer, Deſcartes, Mallebranche, Bayle, Leibnitz, Locke, Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Bolingbroke,

Bolingbroke, Hume, Helvetius, the author of the *Syſteme de la Nature*, and a thouſand other writers, who certainly never dreamed of being confuted thus in a lump, by a jeſuit of the univerſity of Vienna. The ſtudent, of whom I borrowed the book, conceived himſelf to be poſſeſſed of the kernel of all theſe writers, nor had he the leaſt doubt himſelf to be able to overturn all the fine ſophiſtry of Bayle and Spinoſa, with two leaves of his book. You may ſuppoſe I was eager to be acquainted with a man who knew ſo much. But how ſurpriſed was I, when a friend of his aſſured me, he had never read a line either of Bayle, Machiavel, Voltaire, or many other writers whom he had confuted! He himſelf had once lent him three quarto volumes only for one ſingle evening, and in a few days after found them anſwered in a diſſertation.

The beſt lectures are, without a doubt, thoſe given on phyſic. Van Swieten has done what was to be expected from him in this branch. The profeſſors affect to be of no ſect either paſt or preſent, but accuſtom their ſcholars to abuſe Hippocrates, Galen, Boerhaave, &c. and to truſt only to themſelves. Except Storck, however, who is phyſician to the Emperor, there are hardly three good phyſicians here. Yet the method of learning practice is a good

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one. Every candidate for a degree has a certain ſet of patients in the hoſpital. Theſe he viſits, and preſcribes for, and then writes down the ſymptoms of their diſeaſe, together with his reaſons for giving the drugs he orders. The profeſſor then comes; looks over the preſcriptions; compares them with the ſtate of the patient, and makes his obſervations on them.

LETTER XXV.

Vienna.

VIENNA ſwarms with literati. When a man accoſts you, whom you do not know by his dirty hands for a painter, ſmith, or ſhoemaker, or by his livery for a footman, or by his fine clothes for a man of conſequence, you may be aſſured that you ſee either a man of letters, or a taylor; for between theſe two claſſes I have not yet learned to diſtinguiſh. It would be in vain for you, however, to aſk me the names of theſe great men; for I confeſs I know none but the very few who have a real title to that appellation, ſuch as Hell, Martini, Storck, Stephani, Denis, and Sonnerfels, the only philoſopher who deſerves

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the name, the only one who unites uſeful knowledge to patriotiſm, taſte, and elegance. As to thoſe among the higheſt ranks, who either cultivate their knowledge for themſelves, or employ their talents in the ſervice of their country, they would be aſhamed of the title of man of letters, degraded as it now is.

I happened by chance to take up a book, written by a profeſſor of Lintz; it is called the *Learned*, but for its contents might as well have been called the *Unlearned* Auſtria, as it does not give an account of a ſingle original work that has merit, but only mentions about one hundred writers of diſſertations, bad verſes, ſermons, and miſerable comedies. But the place abounds in ſuch authors, whoſe knowledge of the world does not exceed that of a common footman. In Paris you would be ſurpriſed to find a man of letters not acquainted with the hiſtory of his own country, that of Europe, and ſo forth. Here it is a prodigy to meet with one who knows any of theſe things.

Many of the Emperor's officers with whom I am acquainted, deſerve the title of learned men, much more than the miſerable wretches to whom it is given. Beſides profeſſional knowledge, moſt of the former poſſeſs a certain

tain knowledge of the world, and the habits of converſation; and I know ſeveral of them who may be called philoſophers, which is not the caſe with four of the other claſs.

The Italians and French are generally reproached with having worn themſelves out. This may be true, but it did not happen before we had produced maſter-pieces in every branch of ſcience; whereas theſe people, as has indeed been acknowledged by their own writers, have gone ſtraight from barbarity into barrenneſs; nor has philoſophy ever had her day here. The reaſon of this may be eaſily aſſigned. Hitherto, the dæmon of monkery has held the national ſpirit in its claws, and though attempts have been made to ſet it free, the dæmon has only allowed it liberty enough to play, and has hitherto been both powerful, and provident enough to prevent its ſlave from becoming its maſter. It is Joſeph who muſt break theſe chains.

After what I have been telling you of the ſtate of things, you will not be ſurpriſed when you are told, that moſt of the men of merit here are foreigners. Lacy, Laudohn and Wurmſer, in the army, were not born here; and as to the reſt, Storck is a Suabian; Denis, the great Auſtrian poet, a Bavarian; and Hell, the mathematician,

thematician, a Sileſian; nay, though the higher poſts of the ſtate are occupied by natives, yet are the Emperor's confidential ſecretaries foreigners. What is more, all the new enterprizes have alſo been ſet on foot by foreigners, who have been but indifferently rewarded. The inventor of that moſt uſeful of inſtitutions, the penny poſt, was obliged to run away for debt; a French officer who had been called in to make ſome improvements in the artillery, had his work made ſo uneaſy to him, that he was obliged to look for more gratitude at Naples; and an Engliſhman who had taught them the art of gelding horſes ſafely, being paid only in great promiſes, and neglected when the buſineſs was done, was made ſo unhappy by it, that he ſhot himſelf through the head, and left a note upon his table, purporting that he died becauſe he had been led into contracting debts, a thing he was not accuſtomed to. This neglect of merit is not to be charged to the court. Thoſe who can come into the prince's ſight are no where more ſplendidly rewarded than they are here; but then it muſt be confeſſed too, that there is no place where the minions of a court ſo well underſtand the art of keeping talents out of ſight. The Emperor, indeed, ſtrives to break theſe intrigues as

much as he can, and to meet merit half-way; but it is impoſſible for a great monarch to do every thing.

I have little to ſay of what concerns the arts, though I ſaw the academy's annual exhibition of painting and ſculpture. The former conſiſted merely of portraits. In ſtatuary, there were only two buſts, one of the Emperor, the other of the Empreſs, which gave me any pleaſure; but you know I am no great connoiſſeur. The great triumph of the arts is the theatre, of which therefore I ſhall give you an account in my next letter.

LETTER XXVI.

Vienna.

SIXTEEN years ſince, harlequin was the life of every dramatic performance; nothing was agreeable but what he did or ſaid; though the critics of the northern parts of Germany have hiſſed him from their ſtages, the multitude here ſtill wiſh for his return. When harlequin was diſmiſſed, attempts began to be made towards forming a national theatre; this

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was done by slow degrees, but it has at length come to considerable perfection. I have seen them play the *Pere de Famille* here nearly as well, I think, as it could be acted on a Paris theatre. The company is select, but it has the same faults as that of Paris; the faults which every company must have that is not under very strong government.

I was conversing some days ago upon this subject with one of the principal actors: "We "form," says he, "a kind of parliament amongst "ourselves, and the intendant of the court has "no more power over us, than the king of "Great Britain has over the House of Com-"mons." So much the worse, thought I; the republican form of government, which is always a bad one, must be particularly so for a company of players, part of whom desire *always* to be the kings and princes which they are upon the boards, and to hold their comrades in the same state of subjection they do there.

I must introduce you to the acquaintance of the principal of these *whigs*; they are really worthy to be known to you, for they deserve the respect in which they are held, and which has gained them admittance to all the best societies of the place.

The elder *Stephanie*, the manager, is an extraordinary man off the ſtage. He has read much, and has a very good heart. He has a great deal of wit, and all the manner and poliſh of a man of the world. It is pity that his make is not the beſt for the theatre; his feet are ugly, and the belly is not quite what it ſhould be, to correſpond with the upper part of the body. He endeavours as much as he can to conceal this defect by artificial poſtures, but you ſee that his figure hurts him. After Brockman, he is the beſt ſpeaker on the ſtage, but not the moſt pleaſing, as his voice often wants force. His pronunciation is remarkably good, which he owes to his education in Saxony. His countenance is naturally expreſſive, though not ſo much ſo on the ſtage as it might be, from the circumſtance of his being fair, and not painting ſufficiently. His principal parts are thoſe of affectionate fathers. I have no where ſeen *Le Pere de Famille* played better than by him; but as he is conſcious of the imperfections of his figure, and has to do with an unmanageable ſet, he is often forced to take up with parts not made for him. On this principle I have often ſeen him play young, lively princes with no great credit to himſelf; ſtill, however, there is ſenſe in all he does, and he makes

makes every thing that can be made of a part. Beſides ſeveral tranſlations from the French and Engliſh, if I miſtake not, he has written ſeveral original pieces.

His younger brother is the direct oppoſite of him, a rough, ſtiff, arrogant man, with the face of Medusa, and at firſt ſight he ſeems more intended for a corporal of grenadiers, than for an actor. He plays the parts of clowns, angry boys, tyrants, executioners, and the like, which are all ſo natural to him, that nobody elſe can do them as well. He is ſtill more valuable as a poet than as an actor. Notwithſtanding all the faults found with him, his pieces are repreſented on all the ſtages of Germany, even on thoſe where people exclaim moſt loudly againſt them: they contain, indeed, a great deal of nature, admirable characters, and often very fine plots. It is pity that theſe merits are ſhaded by ſome imperfections, but the author is not ſufficient maſter of his language, and his fertility (for he ſells his pieces by the dozens) often compels him to take up with improbable ſtories. If he would but give himſelf a little more time to correct and poliſh, he might paſs for one of the beſt poets of the time. His *Love for the King*, founded on the hiſtory of Charles II. his *De-*

ſerteur aus Kindeſliebe; his *Bekanttſchâft in Bad*; his *Wolfe in des Keerde*, and his *Unterſchied Bey Dienſtbewerbungen*, though not worked up to claſſical elegance, beſpeak true genius. He is entirely callous to all criticiſms, both in his acting and writing; laughs at, or abuſes the critics to their faces, or if needs muſt, brings them to order with his fiſts.

Brockman has been here for ſome years; he was known to fame long before, and enjoyed the ſame reputation at Hamburgh, which Garrick did in England, and Le Kain at Paris. It was a great while before they could perſuade him to come to Vienna, owing to the fear he had of the republican cabals of this theatre, and his not being upon very good terms with his wife, who was engaged here; but at length conſiderable offers prevailed on him. He is one of thoſe players who do not pleaſe you moſt at firſt ſight, but improves on you the more you ſee them. You muſt be accuſtomed to ſomewhat of an unwieldy figure, and ſomewhat of a hoarſe voice, before you can value his merits as they deſerve; but whoever can get over theſe ſlight defects is ſure to be enraptured with his expreſſion. Not a ſhade of paſſion eſcapes him. The uncommon eaſe of his action conceals the extraordi-

nary ſtudy which he has beſtowed on every motion and every word. He is conſtantly before the looking-glaſs, and every thing in him beſpeaks underſtanding, induſtry, and practice. His chief part is Hamlet, which, however, the republican conſtitution of this theatre does not allow him to play, as it is a rule here not to take from any man a part which he has once acted; and this part is poſſeſſed by Mr. de Lange, a gentleman of whom I ſhall ſpeak more freely hereafter. Brockman, however, is like Garrick, and can play every part, from the ſultan to the ſlave.—I do not know a greater proof of a thorough knowledge of the world.

We now come to a man who is truly an *unique* in his way, I mean *Bergopzoomer*, one of the greateſt *charlatans*, and, at the ſame time, one of the greateſt workmen in his art I have yet ſeen. He kept a theatrical academy at Prague, where he hit upon the ſingular deviſe of making every motion of the hands or feet by letters of the alphabet. When he ſaid A, B, C, D, &c. his ſcholars were to fall into the correſponding attitudes. He is likewiſe the author of a very dreadful tragedy, the chief character of which (played by himſelf) diſpatches all the reſt, and then diſpatches himſelf. Deeds of blood are his

forte. I ſaw him play Richard the Third very well. He is ſtrong, but well made, has a wonderful voice, a lively eye, a great deal of expreſſion in his countenance, and knows how to make good uſe of all theſe advantages. He excels even Brockman in art, for he paints his face of all poſſible colours, in order to hit the face of the perſon he repreſents to the life. He puts on a great deal of falſe hair, which he tears off when he is in a paſſion, and toſſes about the ſtage by handfuls. His wounds muſt bleed true blood: when he is in great paſſions he often ſpits blood. I ſaw him throw himſelf on the ground in Richard, and grin, and grind his teeth in ſuch a manner, as really made me ſhudder. With all this, there is an appearance of nature in his expreſſion of the paſſions, that forces an adept in theatrical matters to forget all his trick and grimace. His *Fayel* * ſurpaſſes every thing of the kind I have ever ſeen. He thoroughly underſtands the advantage an actor has in uſing a proper climax of voice. In the part of *Camillo Rota*, in *Emilia Galotte*, he makes the whole pit ſhudder, without any motion of the arms or any alteration of countenance, barely by ſpeaking five or ſix words. Nor dos he

* A character in the tragedy of Percy.

excel

excel only in the parts of kings and murderers. His *Sir John Reſtleſs*, in *All in the Wrong*, is a maſterly performance. You know what a difficult part that is. It is pity that he will not play theſe kind of parts oftener. To ſum up his character, he is a good companion, and, what is more rare to be met with in a player, a man of fortune.

Amongſt all the actors, there is none who has ſo many friends and protectors amongſt the great people, as Mr. *Miller*. The man underſtands every thing; he makes lotteries at the public aſſemblies, keeps toybooths in them for the ladies; has a clever wife and handſome daughter, who play upon the harpſichord in the houſes of the great, and he knows how to improve all theſe advantages. His credit is ſo good, that he is ſaid, though I believe matters to be a little exaggerated in this reſpect, to have conſtantly 50000 guilders of other people's money in circulation. He lives like a great man with the great. His houſe ſtands in one of the beſt and moſt expenſive parts of the town. He has a ſuite of rooms furniſhed with great taſte and magnificence. He hires an elegant garden in one of the ſuburbs, where, in ſummer time, he keeps open table for all the world. All the wits of Germany bring him letters of recommendation, and he takes them

them into his houſe. The acquaintances he thereby makes amongſt the great perſons here, and the learned perſons there, fully pay him for his hoſpitality. He has alſo written ſome plays, but theſe have not anſwered ſo well as his dealings in toys. He is the moſt inſinuating man in the world, and as he endeavours to ſerve every one, ſo he is deſirous of being ſerved by them. As an actor, he is intolerably vain. His proper parts are thoſe of pedants, foormen, and tatlers; but as he does not like to play a different part on the ſtage from what he plays off it, he will be enacting courtiers and petits maitres.

Mr. *Lange*, whom I mentioned before, is a handſome man, and has a very good voice. His fault conſiſts in his being a painter. All his attitudes on the theatre are academical, and his ſtiff movements remind us of thoſe drawing-ſchools in which they put the figure in attitudes, in which it is ſeldom or never ſeen in nature. He might give up his Hamlet to Brockman, and be no loſer; but he has a perverſity about him which is a ſign of a ſmall underſtanding. When he is to ſpeak a ſpeech, which he thinks will meet with applauſe, he comes as near to the pit as he can, and often goes beyond the ſide-boxes. He has too little underſtanding to act the parts of ordinary life. His *forte* is in heroes

heroes of romance, and he excels in *Coucy*, in *Fayel*. He has no command of his fine voice, but falls by degrees into ſinging. He often ſtrikes his breaſt with his double fiſts. He has many friends, and an amiable wife, who ſings very well. By means of his friends he often poſſeſſes himſelf of parts to which he has no other pretenſions. In fine, he is likewiſe one of the few players who are rich.

The only actor of the firſt claſs, who remains to be ſpoken of, is Mr. *Steigenteſch*, whom I had much rather ſee in a room than on the ſtage. He is a man of very univerſal knowledge, ſpeaks ſeveral languages, and has a great deal of wit; but his little figure, and a conſiderable degree of affectation, ſpoil his acting, which, however, beſpeaks a great deal of underſtanding and knowledge of the world. He plays beaux and coxcombs, which as well as lovers, are in bad hands.—I ſhall ſay nothing to you of the remainder, as it would make the catalogue too large.

Madam *Sakko* has the pre-eminence amongſt the ladies. She was formerly Mademoiſelle *Richard*, and was more known to the great world, betwixt the Rhine and the Elbe, by the charms of her perſon than by her acting. She ſeemed for a time to have loſt in love purſuits thoſe aſtoniſhing

niſhing talents which nature had given her; but they diſcovered themſelves by degrees, and ſhe has endeavoured to make up for the time loſt by uncommon ſtudy and application. She poſſeſſes a feeling heart, a Greek profile, a fantaſtic, or, if I may ſo ſay, a romantic countenance, eyes full of fire, a very fine perſon, and a ſilver toned voice. Thoſe who would be quite melted, muſt ſee her in the part of *Gabrielle de Vergis*. For the firſt time in my life in a theatre, I felt tears fall from my eyes. Tragedy, however, is not her ſole *forte*; ſhe plays the parts of fine ladies, marchioneſſes, and devotees, with the ſame felicity. She has a thorough knowledge of the world, and all the doors of this place, thoſe of the imperial cabinet itſelf not excepted, are open to her. She is ſuch a miſtreſs of her motions, that a friend of mine compared her to an inſtrument which plays treble and baſe at the ſame time. Indeed, all the motions of her mouth, eyes, arms, and body, are in ſuch thorough uniſon with, and ſet off each other ſo well, that I do not know to what ſhe can better be compared than to an inſtrument of this ſort. There are not three actreſſes in the world to be compared to her; and ſhe is worthy to be, as ſhe is, the goddeſs of the public's idolatry. Still, however, ſhe was forced

to wait ſome time before the publit ſaw her merit. Her action, like *Brockman*'s, does not pleaſe at firſt ſight, as that of *Bergopzoomer* and *Lange* does. This is common to all that is very fine; you muſt examine and compare the parts, before you can be ſtruck with the beauty and ſymmetry of the whole.

Mademoiſelle *Teutſcher* and Mademoiſelle *Nannette Jaynet* are the next. Theſe ladies would be good actreſſes if there was no *Sakko*. I know no other ladies to mention to you but Madame *Huber*, who on, and off the ſtage enacts the part of a proud, quarrelſome, and fooliſh wife to perfection.

The whole company is in the pay of the court, and every individual in it, keeps his ſalary for life, even when he ceaſes to be ſerviceable. The higheſt ſalary paid by the court is 1200 guilders; beſides this the principal actors have 600 guilders for fire and clothes, and what remains of the receipts after the expences are paid, is divided amongſt them. The receipts generally amount to 120,000, and the expences to 80000 guilders a year. The ſuperflux is divided according to the ſalaries. Thoſe who have children endeavour to procure them a ſmall appointment as ſoon as poſſible. In general, theſe are given with great liberality. They made

Madam

Madam *Sakko's* husband (by profession a dancer, but of no manner of use), inspector of the wardrobe, with an appointment of 500 guilders; so the two together have 2300 guilders, or about 250 pounds a year. The second rates have from 800 to 1000 guilders, and the thirds from 400 to 600 guilders. Jacynel and his two daughters receive 4000 guilders, or about 400 pounds a year.

The cabals and intrigues which exist in this commonwealth, you can have no conception of: every new part makes a quarrel, in which the courtiers take part; the public suffers accordingly. If this company was under good management, it would be one of the three first in Europe. As things now are, authors are greatly injured. When a play is offered, it is read in the theatrical parliament, when the majority of votes decides whether it shall be acted or not; the consequence of this is, that a good play is often refused, either because some of the first actors have no good part in it, or because they will not leave a good part to another, or because they are not at leisure to study a new part, or, which is oftenest the case, because they know nothing of the merits. The author of a new piece, together with a premium, is entitled to a third part of what his work produces, and may

sell

ſell the copy. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, new plays are ſo ſcarce, that they have been obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of a German opera. The quarrels this daily occaſions betwixt the two companies, and the contempt they have for one another, are truly ridiculous. The Empreſs takes care that the public manners of the actreſſes ſhall be more decent than they are at Paris.

Upon the whole, the public of this place has as bad a taſte as that of Munich. Every thing here cries out *panem* et *circenſes*, and the multitude ſeem to have no other wiſhes than to have their paunches well filled, and a theatrical entertainment by way of deſſert; but neither the taſte or morals are improved by this. The generality wiſh for the return of harlequin, who, though he cannot appear, as he uſed to do, with his motley coat and wooden ſword, often ſtruts about in the hero's dreſs to delight them; at leaſt it is only to this that I can aſcribe the miſerable pantomimes with which the tragic actors interſperſe their tragedies. The general taſte is for grimace, buffoonery, and exaggeration. Of a good plot, natural and eaſy dialogue, or pure ſtyle, they know nothing. I have heard ſeveral things applauded here which would have been hiſſed

hiſſed at Paris; if the French of them had been as bad as the German was.

Beſides the national theatre, ſix or ſeven ſtrolling companies occupy the ſuburbs. Theſe are of the ſort I have been uſed to in Suabia. The actors conſiſt of taylors, perriwig-makers, apprentices, and ruined ſtudents, who are ſometimes on the ſtage, ſometimes in the hoſpital, and ſometimes in the army. Theſe gentlemen play by a kind of half light, favourable to the purpoſes of intrigue. Thoſe of them ſucceed beſt who have their booths in a garden, where a man may walk with his friend betwixt the acts. They are ſo conſcious that the public does not come to ſee them, that half the company is commonly in the alehouſe whilſt the play is going forward, and one man acts three or four parts.

LETTER XXVII.

THE editor of *Voyages en differentes parties de l'Europe* ſpeaks very contumeliouſly of the German nobility, and ranks the Neapolitan ones far above them in point of income. He ſhould at leaſt have excepted the Auſtrian nobles,

nobles, as there are ſeveral there who poſſeſs more than any ſix of the richeſt Neapolitans he mentions. Prince Francis Lichtenſtein, the elder branch of that family, has at leaſt 900,000 florins, that is 2,300,000 French livres per annum. In Moravia only, he has twenty eſtates, which conſiſt of twenty, or thirty villages each; he is, without compariſon, the richeſt man in Europe. Lord Cavendiſh, who paſſes for the moſt opulent man in England, has not above 80,000l. a year. At Paris there is not either a farmer general, or a man of quality, whoſe income paſſes 120,000 livres. Neither Prince Radzivil, nor Prince Ctzartoriſky in Poland, nor any of the Ruſſian nobility, have eſtates like thoſe of Prince Lichtenſtein. Prince Eſterhazy has upwards of 600,000, and Prince Schwartzenberg above 400,000 guilders a year. There are upwards of forty people here who have eſtates of 100,000 guilders a year, the greateſt, as Mr. Pilati ſays, that any Neapolitan poſſeſſes, and twelve, beſides thoſe I have mentioned, who have as much again. The houſes of Charles Lichtenſtein, Averſberg, Lobtowik, Paar, Palfy Kolloredo, Hasfeld Schonborn, and many others are much richer than the dukes Pignatelli, and Matalone, or the princes of Palagonia and Villa-Franca, at Naples.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe vaſt revenues, moſt of the great houſes are in debt, which may be very eaſily accounted for; as in other countries, ſome one favourite luxury or other has the aſcendant, here they all reign; nor is there any ſpecies of them you can name, either horſes, ſervants, the pleaſures of the table, play, or dreſs, but what is carried to the utmoſt exceſs. Here are ſeveral ſtables of fifty, ſixty, or more horſes; whoever has an eſtate of fifty or ſixty thouſand florins, muſt have from twenty-four to thirty horſes; and it is a moderate eſtabliſhment, which conſiſts only of a *maitre d'hotel*, a ſecretary, two *valet de chambre*, two running footmen, one or two huntſmen, two coachmen, five or ſix footmen, and a porter. The houſes of Lichtenſtein, Eſterhazy, Schwartzenberg, and ſome others, keep fifty footmen, beſide which, the two former have a body guard. A ſingle plate of fruit often coſts, from ſixty to ſeventy florins, and count Palm once appeared in a coat that had coſt 90000 guilders. It is common to give from thirty to forty thouſand florins for a lady's dreſs; and though hazard is forbidden, there are ſeveral games at which you may loſe from fifteen to twenty thouſand florins at a ſitting.

Prince

Prince Rohan*, who ſome time ſince was ambaſſador from France here, endeavoured to vie in expence with the inhabitants of the place, but, beſides getting conſiderably into debt, he was obliged to confeſs, at going away, that though a man ſpends his money with more taſte at Paris, a great deal more may be ſpent at Vienna. It is, indeed, very true, that they ſpend their money without taſte or enjoyment, and ſeveral of them would do better to throw half their incomes out of window, and ſet the populace a ſcrambling for them, for they would have as much pleaſure themſelves. At Paris every man has ſome branch of œconomy, ſomething upon which he ſaves, that he may afford to be expenſive upon other occaſions. There is likewiſe ſome diſcernment ſhewn in the choice of pleaſures, and the poor, the arts, and even the native country, come in for ſome ſhare of the expence; but here all is idle pomp and magnificence. Amidſt the wretched ſcenes exhibited by the mixture of ſuperfluity and miſery at Paris, the friend of mankind recollects that there is a *Beaumont*, and a *Cure de St. Sulpice*, who divide among the indigent a great part of the ſuperfluities of the rich. But here there is no

* The celebrated cardinal of that name.

ſource of conſolation for the old, and often ſick beggar, who ſlinks into the coffee-houſes and beer-houſes at duſk to procure alms, whilſt the great ſpend upon a ſingle meal, what would feed a private family for a year.

The arts enjoy as little from the riches of this place as the poor do; almoſt all the palaces and gardens beſpeak nothing but a taſteleſs profuſion; and as to collections of pictures, I have ſeen none but the Lichtenſtein gallery, that deſerves any notice. It is true, indeed, that this may ſtand in the place of many; it conſiſts of ſix hundred pieces by the beſt maſters, and is divided into twelve rooms, which have a magnificent appearance, but then this is all that is to be ſeen beſides the imperial collection.

I had forgot to mention one *trait* exceedingly characteriſtic of the country. In ſome houſes, the maſters of which affect to live in the higheſt ſtyle, it is cuſtomary, when an entertainment is given, to provide doſes of tartar emetick, and ſet them in an adjoining room; thither the gueſts retire when they happen to be too full, empty themſelves, and return to the company again as if nothing had happened.

Muſick is the only thing for which the nobility ſhew a taſte; ſeveral of them have private bands of muſicians, and all the public concerts at

latteſt, that this branch of the arts is in the greateſt eſteem here. You may bring together four or five large orcheſtras, which are all incomparable. The number of private virtuoſi is ſmall, but there is no finer orcheſtra of muſic in the world. I have heard thirty or forty inſtruments play together, all which gave ſo juſt, ſo clear, and ſo preciſe a ſound, that you would have thought you heard only a ſingle very ſtrong inſtrument; a ſingle ſtroke gave life to all the violins, and a ſingle blaſt to all the wind inſtruments. An Engliſhman, by whom I chanced to ſit, was aſtoniſhed not to hear in a whole opera, I will not ſay a ſingle diſſonance, but one haſty ſtroke, one too long pauſe, one too loud blaſt. Though juſt come out of Italy, he was enraptured with the juſtneſs, and the clearneſs of the harmony. There are about four hundred muſicians here, who divide themſelves into particular ſocieties, and often labour together during a long courſe of years. On a particular day of the year they have a general concert for the benefit of muſicians widows; I have been aſſured, that the four hundred play together as diſtinctly, as cleanly, and as juſtly, as when there are only from twenty to thirty. This is certainly the only concert of the kind in the world.

One of the moſt pleaſing ſights I have ſeen here was that of the lemonade booths in the ſummer evenings. They put up a large tent in ſome of the public parts of the town, round it are ſeveral hundred ſtools, which are occupied by the ladies and gentlemen of the place. At ſome diſtance there is a band of muſick; the wonderful muſick, the feſtive ſilence, and the familiarity which night diffuſes over every thing, have all of them an unſpeakable good effect.

To ſee the equipages of Vienna, you muſt go to a firework on the Prater in the ſummer-time. The Prater is a wood of oaks and beaches, on an iſland of the Danube, near the city. Towards the entrance, under the trees, there are about thirty tents, furniſhed with chairs and tables, in which you meet with all kinds of refreſhments. The place is conſtantly reſorted to by day; but to ſee it in its ſplendour, you muſt go to a fire-work; about twelve thouſand people aſſemble and take their ſupper under the trees. Towards the entrance of the night, on a given ſignal, they flock to the meadow, ſurrounded with high trees, in which the ſpectacle is exhibited. Directly oppoſite to the firework is a magnificent amphitheatre filled with ſeveral hundreds of ladies, whoſe high painted cheeks, rich jewels, and light ſummer clothes, have an unſpeakable

unſpeakable good effect. The pit, betwixt the amphitheatre and the firework, is filled as full as it can hold with men. At the concluſion of the feſtival a moſt extraordinary ſight takes place; a row, of from twelve to fifteen hundred coaches, phaetons, and other four wheeled equipages, goes from the wood to the city, in ſo direct and cloſe a line, that when they ſtop, the beams of the hinder carriages are cloſe upon the cheſts of the fore ones; the conſequence of which is, that as they go only in full trot, or gallop, many of the carriages are broke, and the people in them expoſed to the utmoſt danger: moſt of theſe are gentlemen's coaches, with four, or ſix horſes to them; the number of theſe in this place, are at leaſt three thouſand five hundred; there are about five hundred hackney coaches, and about three hundred coaches that are let out. Notwithſtanding the number of equipages on this occaſion, there is hardly ever the leaſt diſorder; the foot-paſſengers have their road, which no coachman dares to break in upon. The bridge betwixt the ſuburb of Leopold and the Prater, in which the preſſure is ſtrongeſt, is divided into four parts; the two outermoſt of theſe are for the foot-paſſengers, and the innermoſt for the coaches; that is, one for thoſe who are going from, and another for thoſe who are coming

ing to the city. This order is kept up through the wood and on the *chauſeé* in the ſuburb, till you come to the city, and ſome *cuiraſſiers* ride to and fro with drawn ſabres, to ſee that the order be obſerved. There is no inſtance of an accident having happened at the time of a feſtivity; all the caſualties that take place through the neglect of coachmen, happen in the daily buſineſs of the city; there are, however, never above ſeven people driven over in a year, whereas at Paris we reckon there are twenty.

As to the fire-work itſelf, I ſet it far above all the amuſements of this place, not excepting the national theatre itſelf. M. Stuwer, who was the artificer, whoſe works I ſaw, underſtands it thoroughly; he exhibits whole gardens, large palaces, and temples, in due perſpective, with all their different ſhades of colour, and almoſt as large as the life. His machines are particularly large and beautiful, and often make from ſix to eight fronts, from fifty to ſixty feet long. At the opening of the exhibition, they let off ſeveral hundred rockets, which fly up with a noiſe like thunder, ſhake the whole foreſt, and make it light as at noon day. A few years ago he had a rival called Girandolini, who, in the eſtimation of all connoiſſeurs, had much more merit than himſelf, but was the victim of the bigotry

bigotry of the public. Girandolini, who, as a ſtranger, had more difficulty to combat with, than the other, was obliged to uncommon exertions to obtain money, to do as much as Stower. He had a great number of labourers at work during the whole ſpring and winter, but in the ſummer, on the day announced for the exhibition, there happened a great thunder ſtorm, which ſpoiled all he had done. His diſappointment led him to uſe imprecations, and he was diſcouraged as an atheiſt.

The *Augarten* is likewiſe one of the ſummer amuſements, at which you may meet with all the fine world. This is a large park, which ſtands in the ſame iſland of the Danube as the Prater does, and is to the eaſt of it; it is a work of the Emperor's, who, as the inſcription over the door ſtates, has opened it, as a friend of mankind, for a place of relaxation to all mankind. It is, however, viſited only by the higher orders; the people who ſee it is not made for them, voluntarily exclude themſelves: it is aſtoniſhing in how ſhort a time this park is become what it is. The Emperor, who is determined to ſee his work complete, ſpares for neither pains or expence to procure trees half grown, and full grown from the moſt diſtant part of the globe. Though there are a great variety of different

ferent trees and ſhrubs, and the walks have all the beauties that one can deſire, there is a regularity and uniformity in the whole, which makes it like a true Engliſh garden. A very broad arm of the Danube, which waſhes its banks, gives it a great deal of life. The moſt pleaſing perſpective in the whole, is that of a large foreſt in perſpective, which has been cut through on the other ſide of the river, and is bounded by the diſtant hills of Moravia, which flit about it like light clouds. There is a magnificent pavilion, in which is a billiard-table and refreſhments of all kinds. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee this place in full beauty, muſt viſit it in the height of ſummer in the morning. The cuſtom has prevailed for ſome years paſt, of coming here to drink mineral waters; theſe, it is true, are fetched from upwards of a hundred miles diſtance, and can therefore do no great good, nor is there any need of it, for the invalids are moſt of them very well, and only come here to enjoy the eaſe and freedom which obtain at Spa, Pyrmont, and other water-drinking places. Here all ranks, particularly the nobleſſe and the literati mix together; the ladies drink that they may ſhew themſelves in *negligés*, and the men drink becauſe the ladies are not ſo ſtiff [illegible] as they are when full dreſſed.

There

There are ſeveral other places of public reſort in this town; that which is moſt generally viſited is the Rempart, which, though expoſed to a very warm ſun, is almoſt always full. The middling people cannot go to church in the afternoon, without taking a turn round the Rempart, which takes them up an hour; thoſe of higher ranks walk to ſhew their dogs, which in this place only are ſafe from horſes and carriages. Hounds are a great article of luxury here; the fine folks endeavour to outdo each other in them; at preſent the little Pomeranian breed is all the mode; one of them either ſnow white, or coal black, and with a ſharp ſnout, will fetch from ten to fifteen ducats. Prince X, gave twenty-five ducats for one; every man who ſets up at all for ton, muſt have his *ſpiſſchen*, which is here the proper name of this dog. The peaſants, who are the better for this folly, have built a dog-market adjoining to the poultry-market.

The gárden of the Belvedere in the ſuburb of Rennevig, formerly in the poſſeſſion of prince Eugene, is likewiſe at preſent a public walk; the garden has nothing particular about it; but the palace both on account of its builder, and its admirable ſituation, is one of the moſt remarkable places in the town; from the balcony

on

on the terrace, you command a view over the whole town, and all the country round. Some years ago the imperial pictures were moved hither; the gallery conſiſts of twenty-two large rooms; the lower ſtory is tenanted entirely by Italian maſters. The beſt picture is a Cupid in the act of drawing his bow, by Corregio. It was bought for 18,000 ducats, by the Emperor Charles VI. but with many other pictures had been entirely neglected and trodden under foot, ſo that part of it was entirely ſpoilt, but what remains is Corregio ſtill. The upper ſtory is tenanted by the Flemiſh maſters, who, as in duty bound, do not keep company with the Italians. The gallery is open to every body three days in the week.

About a mile and a half from the city, in a fenny hollow, you meet with Schonbrurm, the ſummer reſidence of the Empreſs, but where the confined proſpect, and bad air, did not allow me to ſtay two days. The palace is immenſe, built in a truly great ſtyle; the furniture, too, is truly imperial; there is one room furniſhed with tapeſtry from the *Gobelins*, that coſt 300,000 guilders; here too is the menagerie of wild beaſts, ſo delightfully ſung by Metaſtaſio. The moſt remarkable I ſaw, was a true elephant of the large breed from India; it was ſent as a preſent

preſent from the Stadtholder, who gave 10,000 guilders for it. On an eminence behind the palace the Emperor has built a *ſala terrena* in the ancient ſtyle, with two rows of pillars on each ſide. This points out the ſpot where his mother ſhould have built, if ſhe had choſen to have had a fine proſpect and good air. When the Empreſs is here, ſhe ſees only capuchins and old court ladies. This is likewiſe a place of public amuſement, as the garden is always open, as is the palace alſo, at all ſuch times as the Empreſs is not there.

The Kalſeberg, which lies on the Danube, about three miles from the city, pleaſed me infinitely more; the way to it is through a wonderfully well cultivated country. At ſome diſtance to the left, on the ſlope of the hill, and under ſome very old oaks, you ſee field marſhal Lacy's elegant villa, with his Engliſh garden. By degrees you gain a thick foreſt on the brow of the hill; on the top of this ſtands the Camaldouleuſe convent, in the fineſt point of view you can imagine. Under ſome trees before the convent, are a table and ſome benches, where the ladies, who cannot viſit the inſide of the monaſtery, without ſpecial permiſſion from the archbiſhop, are entertained till their friends return. Every monk has his own ſeparate hut, with

with a little garden belonging to it. To the outer cell there is a terrace, which looks over a perpendicular precipice into the Danube, and commands a proſpect of which a monk of this ſort is quite unworthy. You have the whole city like a ground plot under your feet; you think you hear the conſtant hum in it, and your eye carries you over this part of Auſtria, as far as to the borders of Hungary and Moravia. The majeſtic Danube winds through an immenſe plain; at ſome diſtance it conſiderably widens, and, being covered with no woods or elevations, caſts a ſilver appearance on the landſcape. To your right, the wood crowned hill you are upon, gradually decreaſes to the ſuburbs, whilſt to the left it ſtretches its high neck along the Danube, to, where, at three miles diſtance, you ſee the golden hill of Enſerſdorf, which produces one of the beſt Auſtrian wines. The numberleſs fine villages, the blue hills ſwimming on the horizon, and all the various aſpects of wood and water, diffuſe a delight, which impreſſed me to ſuch a degree, that I could not help communicating my enthuſiaſm to the monk, who was near me. "Happy," ſays I, "muſt be that "brother who inhabits the outer cell." "No," ſaid he, "we are not of your opinion, none of "us chuſe to live in it, for it is too much ex-

"poſed to the winds, and is as cold again as "any other." In a moment the man brought me out of my enthuſiaſm. You know I am one of thoſe, who in ſummer never think of winter, and who hate nothing more than to be forced to ſee the ugly ſide of things, be they as natural as they may, whilſt I am taken up with the beautiful ones.—After having ſeen all that the monks had to ſhew, hair ſhirts and all, we gave them money to ſay a maſs for us, and haſtened to our ladies under the trees. We had ſent before us a cold collation, and ſome bottles of Shumlaver and St. Jorger. The day was fine, and the ladies in good humour, ſo that I do not know whether we might not a little prophane the entrance to the holy place. This pilgrimage was undertaken in the firſt days of my arrival here, but I have often been at the place ſince, and have found pleaſure there, even in bad weather.

There are ſeveral other public places, amongſt which you may reckon Mount Calvarie, and other places of devotion, which are viſited by the young people of both ſexes, not ſo much from motives of piety, as becauſe they are protected from the inſpection of the police.

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